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IN HONOR OF

FLEMING JAMES

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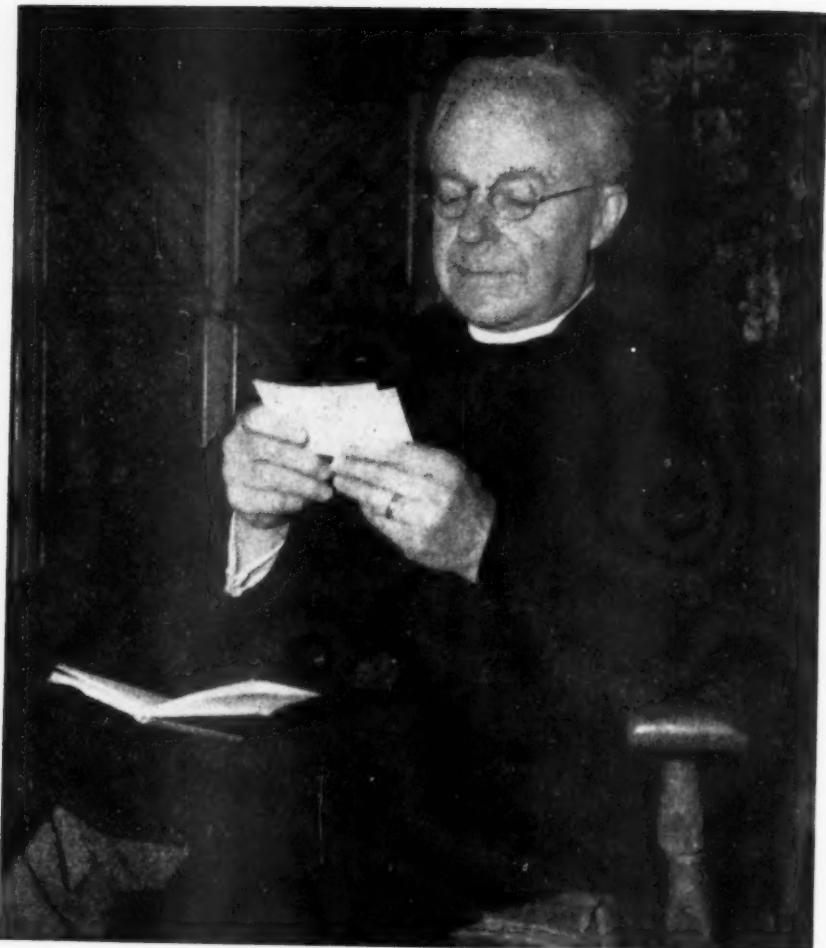
R. LANSING HICKS

AND

ROBERT C. DENTAN

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DEAN FLEMING JAMES

FLEMING JAMES

The Rev. Dr. Fleming James was born in Gambier, Ohio, on Jan. 11, 1877, son of the Rev. Fleming James and Mary Elia Duvall. He received his secondary schooling at the Kenyon Military Academy and the Episcopal Academy at Philadelphia and attended the University of Pennsylvania, from which he received the degrees of Bachelor of Arts in 1895 and Master of Arts the following year. He continued his studies in the graduate school of the same institution in the field of Classical Greek and was granted the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in 1899. In the fall of that year he entered the Philadelphia Divinity School, where he was a student of the late James A. Montgomery. After his graduation in the spring of 1901, he received deacon's orders in the Episcopal Church and in May of 1902 was advanced to the priesthood. The following month he was married to Rebecca Godwin. During the year 1901-2, he was minister-in-charge of St. Andrew's Church, Philadelphia, but, after his ordination to the priesthood and his marriage, volunteered for work in the foreign missionary field, becoming missionary-in-charge of the American Congregation of the Church of Our Saviour in Shanghai. Returning to America in 1906, he became successively minister of St. Andrew's Mission, Philadelphia (1906-1912), and rector of St. Paul's Church, Englewood, N. J. (1912-21). Having long had a desire to engage in the teaching ministry, he resumed graduate studies, enrolling at the Union Theological Seminary in New York in the field of New Testament, and when the chair of Old Testament at the Berkeley Divinity School, then located at Middletown, Conn., was offered to him by the late Dean Ladd, he accepted, and remained in that position for nineteen years, accompanying the School on its transfer to New Haven in 1928. During the years 1933-1936 he was also rector of St. John's Church, New Haven. In 1940 he accepted the invitation to become Dean and Professor of the Old Testament at the Theological School of the University of the South at Sewanee, Tenn., where he continued until his retirement in 1947. Since that time he has made his home at North Haven, Conn., and has served as Executive Secretary of the Old Testament Section of the committee charged with the production of the Revised Standard Version of the Bible.

During the years 1909-1912 he was a member of the board of examining chaplains of the Diocese of Pennsylvania and was one of the examining chaplains of the Diocese of Newark from 1915-1921. His profound interest in the social aspects of the Christian Gospel is shown by his active participation in the work of the Church League for Industrial Democracy (now the Episcopal League for Social Action) and the Fellowship of Reconciliation. From 1932 to 1935 he was also chairman of the Committee on Social Relations of the Connecticut Council of Churches and was long a member of the Department of Christian Social Relations of the Diocese of Connecticut. He holds degrees in sacred theology or divinity from Berkeley (1927) and Philadelphia (1942) Divinity Schools and from the Virginia Theological Seminary (1941). He is a member of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis, the National Association of Biblical Instructors, and the Yale Semitic and Biblical Club, of which he served as president for one year during his residence in New Haven.

Three qualities above all have characterized both his teaching and writing: the warm humanity of his approach to academic and scholarly matters, a passion for the social and ethical aspects of religion, and a deeply personal religious life. No student who sits in his classroom has the feeling that the teacher is uncovering dry bones of ancient learning, although the learning is plainly there. Under Professor James's hands the great figures of the biblical past become, not shadowy figures in an almost forgotten pageant of history, but living, breathing human individuals whose sins and virtues, failures and triumphs, are of immediate and compelling relevance. His skill in the use of the inductive method of teaching, to which he is completely devoted, forces his students to become participants rather than merely auditors or spectators, so that it is impossible for them to escape that personal involvement in the subject which is of the essence of true scholarship. In addition to this, his great concern with the ethical implications of the biblical attitude toward life is such as inevitably to communicate itself to those who study with him, especially since his own concern with such matters has never been merely academic, but always militantly active. It would be difficult to draw up a list of all the causes on behalf of which he has been personally engaged, but chief among them would be the struggle for a just and enduring peace, the endeavor to secure for workers the right to organize themselves into effective unions, and the effort to intro-

duce Christian principles into relationships amongst the races. In all of this the Old Testament has been for him a constant source of inspiration and an arsenal of materials for the battle. Finally, it must be noted that all aspects of his work and character are constantly illuminated by the simplicity and fervor of his own devotional life. Prayer is as natural to him as breathing; to discuss spiritual matters with others is as normal as to talk about the weather; he does not have to choose between piety and scholarship, because his scholarship is but one aspect of a total piety. It is this more than anything else which endears him to his pupils and which has left its most permanent effect upon them.

R. LANSING HICKS
ROBERT C. DENTAN

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A LETTER FROM PROFESSOR BEWER

DEAR FLEMING:

Your friends rejoice with you as you round out 75 years of your life so full of work and notable achievement and still full of zest and vigor, ready to carry on. We hope that you may long be spared not only for your work but for all who love you, and there are many. We have all felt the charm of your lovely personality with its spiritual beauty of a consecrated life: your colleagues in our conferences where you endeared yourself to us all; your students at Yale whose devotion to you we are privileged to witness; not least I in the intimacy of our friendship where our souls communed and rejoiced. Surely, many people who have never met you but have read your beautiful book on *Personalities of the Old Testament* have felt your spirit, for it is full of your own personality. We hope and wish most heartily that you may be given health and strength of body and mind to complete the companion volume on the New Testament, and that the evening of your life may be full of joy and hope as you go forward into the marvelous light to still greater joy and satisfaction.

Most cordially your friend,

JULIUS A. BEWER

A LETTER FROM PROFESSOR TORREY

DEAR PROFESSOR JAMES:

I am glad to have the privilege of joining with your colleagues and friends in this tribute of esteem and affection.

I like to think of you, Dr. James, as working away steadily and eagerly, with a zest which the weight of seventy-five years has not been able to crush, and with the sympathetic understanding of men and things which made your "Personalities of the Old Testament" a best-seller.

I prize the memory of the years of our association in New Haven. Many things come to mind: the help that you gave at the time when you were rector of St. John's Church; still earlier, the happy days when you and I and Dr. Hedrick were reading and studying the Old Syriac Gospels; conversations that I love to keep in memory; the abiding consciousness of a friendship that neither time nor distance can impair.

Seru in caelum redeas! May you have many more years of health and strength, and of fruitful effort.

Yours ever,

CHARLES C. TORREY

IN APPRECIATION OF FLEMING JAMES

By LUTHER A. WEIGLE

Dean Emeritus

Yale University Divinity School

My intimate acquaintance with Fleming James began in 1928, when the Berkeley Divinity School moved from Middletown to New Haven and entered into affiliation with Yale University. The affiliation is a loose one, in no way impairing the freedom of each institution to be responsible for its own affairs; but it brought Berkeley and the Yale University Divinity School into helpful cooperation, and opened the courses of each School to the students of the other. Because many more Berkeley students availed themselves of the opportunity to take Yale courses than Yale students chose from the Berkeley program, Dean Ladd suggested to us that he would be willing for some of the Berkeley teachers to offer courses at the Divinity School. This suggestion was accepted, and from 1929 on Fleming James, Professor of Old Testament on the Berkeley faculty, and Charles B. Hedrick, Professor of New Testament, taught at least one course each year at the Yale Divinity School.

Going back over the records, I find that in most years between 1929 and 1940, when he left Berkeley to become Dean of the School of Theology at the University of the South, Professor James carried two courses at Yale. The course which he always offered was on "Israel's Wisdom and Poetry," a one-term elective which was usually chosen by from twenty-five to thirty advanced students. Another which he usually offered was an exegetical course on the Psalms. In one year, 1937-38, he carried the year-course in Old Testament Exegesis, for senior and graduate students.

When I learned, in the spring of 1947, that Dean James was about to retire from his post as head of the School of Theology at Sewanee, I proposed to my fellow-members of the Committee preparing the Revised Standard Version of the Bible, that we invite him to membership on the Committee, and ask him to devote his full time to service as Executive Secretary of the Old Testament Section. He

accepted our proposal; and then I found myself faced with a conflict between my duties as Yale Dean and as Bible Revision Committee Chairman. It became necessary for Professor Millar Burrows to go to Palestine for the academic year 1947-48, as Director of the American Schools of Oriental Research; and the Yale faculty voted to invite Dean James to accept a Visiting Professorship for the year and thus make possible an adjustment of courses that would care for Burrows' work during his leave of absence. But I had already signed James up for full-time service on the revision of the Bible! In the end it was decided for that one academic year to make a division of his time—two-thirds to teaching at Yale, and one-third to the work of the Bible committee.

Professor James' program of teaching that year turned out to demand an ample two-thirds of any man's time. He carried the basic year-course on Old Testament History and Literature, with enrollment of 97 students, and an advanced year-course on Biblical Theology, with enrollment of 32. As to the quality of his work, I had best let the students speak for themselves. In May, 1948, a committee came to see me, and presented a paper signed by one hundred and nineteen students. It reads as follows:

"We, the undersigned students, feel that it has been a most inspiring experience and extreme privilege to study the Old Testament and Biblical Theology with Professor Fleming James and to have come to know Professor James as a person. We feel that he is one of the great and humble witnesses for our living God. By his teaching and his deep appreciation of the material, he has helped us to get an insight into the Word of God and the Biblical world which is remarkable in view of the fact that the course lasts but one year. Professor James, by his strong social and ethical alertness, has also been able to relate the teaching and religious truth of the Old Testament and Biblical Theology to our present world situation in a most challenging way.

"It is with deep regret that we realize that this is his only year at Yale Divinity School. We feel that it would be a great loss to the whole school if Professor James should not come back to us. We know that he has a great deal more to offer as a teacher. He is intellectually keen and alert, young and vital in his spiritual enthusiasm and faith. It seems to us that there is a rich variety of highly important fields and issues possible for teaching in both the Old Testament and the New Testament and Professor James seems to know and appreciate them both equally well.

"We therefore hope that the teaching of the Bible could in some way be expanded or supplemented by having Professor James as a visiting lecturer so that other students may also have the privilege of studying under him.

"We ask that this request be given serious consideration."

Their request was given serious consideration. But the need of the Old Testament section of the Revision Committee for the full-time service of a scholar as well qualified as Professor James would brook no more delay; and so from June 1, 1948 to June 30, 1952 he gave himself without respite to his duties as a member and executive secretary of the Section. With Professor Burrows, Professor May, and myself he served upon the editorial committee which prepared the manuscript of the Revised Standard Version of the Old Testament for the press. One of his special duties was the preparation of the notes—an exceedingly important task in view of the larger use made of versonal readings in the present revision and the policy of citing the versonal authorities in each case and also giving a literal translation of the Masoretic Hebrew text.

Dean James has endeared himself to his colleagues as to his students. We at Yale count him one of our own, and we rejoice with Berkeley and with the University of the South that we have shared in the selfless glory of his life of sound scholarship, effective teaching, and complete Christian faith.

THE MESSIAHS OF AARON AND ISRAEL

By MILLAR BURROWS

Yale University

Among the points in the background of early Christianity on which new light is cast by the Dead Sea Scrolls none is more important for Christian theology than the Messianic hope. Unfortunately the light is by no means direct and clear; there are many confusing shadows and reflections. This paper is concerned only with one particularly striking expression and cannot undertake to explore the theological implications of even that expression.

When the Cairo manuscripts of the Damascus Covenanters (CDC) were published by Schechter, nearly half a century ago, attention was

at once attracted by several references to an expected "Messiah of Aaron and Israel": *mšwh 'hrn wysrl*, xii. 23—xiii.1 (15⁴), cp. xiv.19 (18⁷); *mšyh 'hrn wysrl*, xix.10-11 (9¹⁰B); *mšyh m'hrn wmysrl*, xx.1 (9¹⁰B).¹ Various theories as to the meaning of these words were propounded, differing above all on the question whether the reference was to one or two Messiahs. Some scholars, assuming the former, debated the significance of the apparent double derivation of the Messiah.² Louis Ginzberg,³ however, argued that the meaning was "the Messiah of Aaron and (the Messiah) of Israel." He identified the former with Elijah and the latter with the Davidic Messiah.

The Dead Sea Manual of Discipline (DSD) contains a striking parallel to the expression of CDC but with surprising differences, as the following tabulation will make clear:

CDC xii.23-xiii.1	'd	'mwd	<i>mšwh</i>	'hrn	<i>wysrl</i>
xix.10-11	<i>bbw'</i>		<i>mšyh</i>	'hrn	<i>wysrl</i>
xx.1	'd	'mwd	<i>mšyh</i>	<i>m'hrn wmysrl</i>	
DSD ix.11	'd	<i>bw'</i>	<i>nby' wmsyh</i>	<i>'hrwn</i>	<i>wysrl</i>

The significant points in DSD, as against CDC, are the reference to a prophet and the plural form "Messiahs." It is to the latter in particular that I would call attention here.

Several possible or impossible ways of reading the expression in question should be considered before any theological inferences are drawn. Since *w* and *y* are not distinguishable by their forms in this manuscript, one might read *mšyh_w* (or *mšwh_w*) instead of *mšyh_y*. But what would this mean? It could mean (1) "the coming of a prophet and of his Messiah, Aaron, and of Israel"; (2) "the coming of a prophet and of his Messiah, Aaron-and-Israel"; or even⁴ (3) "the coming of a prophet and of his Messiahs, Aaron and Israel." But the only antecedent for the possessive suffix that could be found in the context would be the prophet. It can hardly be supposed that the reference is to the prophet's Messiah(s). Moreover, the first of

¹References to CDC are given first by column and line, columns i-xvi being those of Text A and xix-xx the two columns of Text B, as in the edition of L. Rost. In parenthesis are given the chapter and verse references according to the translation of Charles (*Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*, vol. II). S. Zeitlin has now issued the text in photographic facsimile with an introduction: *The Zadokite Fragments (The Jewish Quarterly Review. Monograph Series, No. I, 1952)*.

²Cf., e.g., Charles, *op. cit.*, p. 788.

³Eine unbekannte jüdische Sekte I (New York, 1922), pp. 317-363.

⁴Pointing *meshîhâw*.

the interpretations indicated would involve a meaningless reference to the coming of Israel, the second would presuppose a quite unlikely compound name, and the third would imply the equally improbable idea of a Messiah named Aaron and another named Israel.

It has been suggested, to be sure, that the suffix might be in apposition with the following name, so that *mšyhw 'hrwn wysrl* would mean simply "the Messiah of Aaron and Israel." This, however, is grammatically objectionable. In late Hebrew one might say *mšyhw šl 'hrwn* (as in Aramaic or Syraic *mšyhh d'hren*), but *mšyhw 'hrwn* does not mean "the Messiah of Aaron." Furthermore, if the suffix were in apposition with "Aaron and Israel" it would not be singular (*mšyhw*) but plural (*mšyhyhm*). H. E. Del Medico⁵ actually translates, "le prophète et Messie d'Aaron et d'Israel," but how such a rendering could be justified I do not see. In short, no tenable interpretation can be obtained by reading *mšyhw* instead of *mšyhy*.

The plural construct is not, of course, the only form which could be spelled *mšyhy*, but here again no alternative interpretation makes good sense. To read "my Messiah, Aaron, and Israel," "my Messiah, Aaron-and-Israel," or "my Messiahs, Aaron and Israel," would be open to the same objections as the corresponding readings with the third person, and there is nothing whatever in the context to justify the supposition that the first person is intended. We are therefore left with the plural construct, "the Messiahs of Aaron and Israel," as the only defensible reading of the expression in DSD ix.11.

This being granted, several possibilities are open as to the meaning of the surprising designation. Who are the Messiahs of Aaron and Israel, and what relation have they to other known forms of the Messianic hope? In particular, what is their relation to other figures in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Damascus Document? W. H. Brownlee translates, "until the coming of a Prophet and the anointed ones of Aaron and Israel," understanding the "Prophet" to be the Messiah and the "anointed ones" his followers.⁶ This involves the decidedly precarious assumption that the Messiah is one who is not so designated, while those who actually are so designated are only his followers. It seems much more likely that the Prophet is here distin-

⁵ *Deux Manuscrits Hébreux de la Mer Morte* (Paris, 1951), p. 33.

⁶ *The Dead Sea Manual of Discipline* (BASOR Supplementary Studies, Nos. 10-12, New Haven, 1951), pp. 34, 35 (note 19); cf. Appendix D, p. 50.

guished from the Messiahs as their precursor or associate, as often in both Jewish and early Christian sources.⁷

In that case probably not more than two Messiahs are indicated, one of them being the Messiah of Aaron and the other the Messiah of Israel. So J. T. Milik translates, "usque ad adventum Prophetae et (duorum) Unctorum: (ex) Aaron et Israel."⁸ This brings the meaning of the expression in DSD into line with L. Ginzberg's understanding of the "Messiah of Aaron and (the Messiah) of Israel" in CDC. Supporting the distinction between Aaron and Israel as each having its own Messiah is the fact that at several points in both DSD and CDC the priests and Levites are mentioned as two groups and distinguished from the rest of the people. In DSD ii.19-22 we find priests, Levites, and "all the people." In vi.8-9 the three groups are priests, elders, and "the rest of all the people." CDC xiv.3-6 (17^{1,2}) names priests, Levites, and the sons of Israel and adds a fourth group, the proselytes. CDC x.5 (11²), prescribing the composition of the courts of ten men, specifies that four of the judges shall be from "the tribe of Levi and Aaron" and six from Israel.

In all these passages Israel clearly means the laity, suggesting that the Messiahs of Aaron and Israel will be, respectively, the priestly and the secular heads of the eschatological community. The secular Messiah then corresponds to Moses, the king, or the Davidic Messiah, as the priestly Messiah corresponds to Aaron or the high priest. An interesting parallel is thus afforded to the association of Joshua and Zerubbabel as "the two sons of oil" in Zechariah 4.⁹

If L. Ginzberg's rendering of the expression in CDC is thus confirmed, it does not necessarily follow that his identification of the two Messiahs is correct. Even if it be so in CDC—and his arguments are very cogent—allowance must be made for a change in the idea between CDC and DSD. The identification of the Messiah of Aaron as Elijah in DSD is made improbable by the mention of a prophet before the Messiahs of Aaron and Israel. This prophet seems to be the most eligible candidate for identification with Elijah as the forerunner of the Messiah, or perhaps here as appearing together with the two Messiahs. The absence of an article with *nby'*, however, may indicate that no particular individual is meant (cp. 1 Macc. 4¹⁰).

⁷Cf. Brownlee, *loc. cit.*; Del Medico, *op. cit.*, p. 67 (note on DSD ix. 11); Ginzberg, *loc. cit.*

⁸"Manuale Disciplinae" (*Verbum Dominum*, vol. 29, 1951), p. 152.

The problem is not simplified by the references to other quasi-Messianic characters. In DSD itself there is no such reference; in fact, while there are many eschatological allusions and implications elsewhere in DSD, the passage before us is the only one which can be called strictly Messianic. In DSH, however, as in CDC, the Teacher of Righteousness (or perhaps Righteous Teacher) has a prominent part, and the reference to his reappearance in the last days⁹ has, to say the least, a Messianic overtone. The "root" which "sprang from Israel and Aaron" three hundred and ninety years after the beginning of the Babylonian exile¹⁰ must be brought into the picture also.

To investigate these problems, however, lies beyond the purpose of this article. All that is sought here is to establish the fact that DSD has a doctrine of two Messiahs,¹¹ as well as a coming prophet.

⁹CDC vi. 10f. (8¹⁰).

¹⁰CDC i. 7 (1⁶).

¹¹Professor Friedrich Nötscher of Bonn suggests parenthetically that the plural may be a scribal error (*Bibel und Kirche*, 1952, p. 35). While the possibility of this cannot be denied, it would be a very difficult error to explain.

THE PROBLEM OF THE EPHOD

By GEORGE DAHL

Yale University

One of the intriguing problems in Old Testament religion is the question of the exact nature of the ephod. The fact that the name occurs some fifty or more times indicates its importance. It is closely connected at times with significant episodes in Hebrew history and forms part of the apparatus of some of the most sacred rites of worship. By its means God is brought near to the nation as Revealer of his holy will. Despite all this, however, the evidence regarding the form and function of the symbol is so scanty, at times even so conflicting, that it has led scholars to widely divergent interpretations.

Since the ephod is part of the ritual and symbolism of the Hebrew church it seems altogether appropriate that the ANGLICAN THEOLOGICAL REVIEW, related as it is to a branch of the ecumenical church which holds in high regard the decencies of worship, should devote

a few pages to this brief survey and tentative evaluation of various studies of the sacred object. Furthermore, this special issue of the REVIEW is dedicated to a beloved priest and leader of the Episcopal Church; this furnishes, if need be, additional justification for treading once more a path broken before us by many predecessors. Obviously we can hardly expect final solutions now. But perhaps we may at least hope to indicate the nature of the problem and to compare several of the principal attempts at its solution. As token, then, of high esteem for a friend and fellow-craftsman, let us turn directly to the study of the ephod.

As point of departure it may not be amiss to quote two short passages taken from Dr. James' own stirring and fascinating volume of Biblical biographies, published in 1939 and entitled *The Personalities of the Old Testament*. On page 35 we read: "The ephod may have been a vestment in whose pocket the apparatus of the lot was kept." Again on page 72, footnote 7 he states: "It now seems certain that the ephod was originally a stiff sleeveless cylindrical (almost conical) garment placed upon the image of a god and also worn by a high priest. . . . The garment (*ependytes*) was usually made of gold plate over a wooden frame, and was often set with precious stones. It was also connected with the revelation of the future through the casting of lots. In the present passage (i.e., Judges 8) ephod is used for the whole divine image, whose most important part was the golden garment (cf. Judg. 17:5; Hos. 3:4)."¹ Notice, in passing, that these quotations serve to illustrate the two principal interpretations of the meaning of the word ephod, viz., garment and divine image.

Among the more significant suggestions looking toward the solution of the problem of the ephod, listed in what may well be regarded as the order of their probability, are the following:

I. A priestly garment. Of this there were two kinds. (a) The linen ephod, probably a simple loin-cloth, worn by ordinary priests or, on occasion, by the king. Apparently this scanty garment, like some other religious vestments, was a survival from earlier and more primitive times.² In I Samuel 2:18 the child Samuel, ministering in the house of the Lord at Shiloh, is described as "girded with a linen

¹See H. Thiersch, *Ependytes und Ephod: Gottesbild und Priesterkleid im Alten Vorderasien*, 1936. This important work describes objects similar to the ephod used from very early times in Asia Minor and neighboring lands. In the appendix are 54 pages of plates vividly illuminating the discussion.

²H. P. Smith, *The Books of Samuel* (I C C), 1899, p. 295.

ephod." David is similarly garbed in II Sam. 6:14, where he dances so unrestrainedly before the ark that Michal his wife "despised him in her heart." (b) The far more elaborate garment of Exodus 28, prescribed by the Priestly writer for the high priest, which was interwoven with theads of gold, blue, purple, scarlet and linen. This included shoulder-pieces and a "breast-plate of judgment" all richly adorned with precious stones and gold.³ In the breast-plate was a receptacle, perhaps a bag or pocket, containing the Urim and Thummim for casting the sacred lot. There is general agreement that the ephod is a garment in such passages as we have indicated.

II. An image or idol. Here scholars vary widely in their interpretation of the evidence. The crucial passage is Judges 8:27, where Gideon receives the gold rings and other jewelry of the conquered Midianites and makes an ephod of the spoil. We read: "All Israel played the harlot after it there; and it became a snare to Gideon and to his house." G. F. Moore comments: "Ephod is the specific name of a kind of idol; cf. 17:5; 18:14, etc.; Hos. 3:4. . . . The ephod seems to have been peculiarly an oracular idol; see 17:5".⁴ As to the exact form of the idol he is not specific.⁵ Judges 17:5 further describes Micah's "house of gods" as including "an ephod and teraphim." C. F. Burney,⁶ in his turn, summarizes the arguments for and against the theory that the ephod in the Judges narratives about Gideon and Micah is an image. After citing evidence which to my mind clearly points to the idol interpretation as the correct one, he decides that "there is nothing in the statements to compel us to believe that . . . it was anything else but the ordinary priestly vestment which was employed in obtaining an oracle."⁷ The fact, *inter alia*, that the sword of Goliath is described in I Sam. 21:9 as being wrapped in a cloth behind the ephod inclines most scholars to believe that at least in Judges we are dealing with some kind of a

³See Brown, Driver and Briggs, *Hebrew Lexicon*, 1906, p. 65. Since the "P" writer is evidently so often dependent upon legend (or, upon his imagination!) for his facts, we may have to take his enthusiastic description of the costly garment, as often *cum grano salis*.

⁴Judges (I C C), 1906, p. 232f.; cf. pp. 378-381 (on Judg. 17f.).

⁵Ibid., p. 379n.

⁶The Book of Judges, 1918, pp. 236-243.

⁷Ibid., p. 243.

solid object rather than a garment.⁸ As indicated in one of the quotations from Dr. James above this may possibly have been in the form of a metal garment placed on a wooden core. Thus we seem to have at least two distinct meanings of the word ephod: that of a priestly garment and the derived connotation of a solid statue of some sort. This represents, probably, a process of evolution during many years.⁹

III. A box or tent. As far back as 1917 W. R. Arnold¹⁰ urged that the word "ephod" in the Old Testament is a substitute for "ark," the work of a later scribe. This theory he based largely on I Sam. 14:18, where the Greek version (probably correctly) substitutes "the ephod" for "the ark of God." This extreme position, brilliant though it may be, has received little scholarly support. But it has served as a point of departure for other and more conservative interpretations of "ephod" in those passages in which it is clearly not a garment of some sort. For example, H. G. May in an article entitled "Ephod and Ariel"¹¹ has made a very thorough and scholarly analysis of the wide range of evidence relating to ephod, ark and ariel. As a result of this careful investigation he is convinced that the ephod, when it did not designate the linen apron of the priest, was neither an idol's garment nor the idol itself. Rather it was probably a palladium, analogous to the ark, in which the teraphim were kept or with which they were associated.¹² His final conclusion is that the tent of meeting, the ark, the ephod, and the ariel were similar and closely related institutions.¹³

Another investigation of a somewhat similar type is that of J. Morgenstern.¹⁴ Basing his conclusion on the characteristics of the later Arabic *kubbe*, he concludes that the ephod was "a simple tent-shrine,

⁸See in A. S. Peake, *The People and the Book*, 1925, the confirmation of this position as stated by Stanley A. Cook (p. 44), W. F. Lofthouse (p. 247) and W. O. E. Oesterley (p. 341); in *The Abingdon Bible Commentary*, 1929, J. F. McLaughlin (p. 274), N. Micklem (p. 385), and again Oesterley (p. 365). See also Thiersch, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

⁹One is reminded of the pronouncement of Humpty Dumpty in Lewis Carroll's whimsical *Through the Looking-Glass*: "When I use a word it means just what I choose it to mean—nothing more nor less."

¹⁰*Ephod and Ark* (Harvard Theological Studies, vol. III).

¹¹American Journal of Semitic Languages, vol. LVI, 1939, pp. 44-69.

¹²P. 48.

¹³P. 69.

¹⁴*The Ark, the Ephod, and the Tent of Meeting*, 1945.

which housed the clan or tribal deities." It accompanied the warrior into battle and led the clan in its migrations.¹⁵

Evidently we have come far from the idea of a garment or idol in this box or tent-like mobile structure. But these possible alternatives, too, must be kept in mind.

Our conclusion from this exercise in the semantics of the word "ephod" is that at different places and at different periods, perhaps, it varied in meaning. One meaning was that of a garment, the other of some solid object worshipped as an idol. Possibly other significations also attached themselves to the word, as suggested in the preceding paragraphs. The ephod, therefore, still remains on the *agenda* of Old Testament scholarship. The material in such a work as that of Thiersch, listed above, may serve as a mine for further study. The contributions in many fields, such as archaeology, comparative religions and other allied disciplines should be screened during coming years. That "miracles" still occur in these realms is witnessed by fairly recent events. Think of the contributions to our understanding of the Old Testament resulting from the diggings at Ras Shamra.¹⁶ Dura has told us surprising things about Jewish pictorial art of about 250 A.D. Most recently Jean-Paul Audet has published¹⁷ an article on a "Hebrew-Aramaic List of Old Testament Books in Greek Transcription," which may throw a flood of light on the Aramaic background of the New Testament.¹⁸ The unbelievable discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls is still fresh in our mind. Who knows whether we may not learn a great deal more about the ephod, one of the most sacred emblems of Old Testament religion, in the years ahead?

¹⁵*Ibid.*, p. 162.

¹⁶It was at one time announced that the Ras Shamra poem "The Death of Baal" contained a reference to the ephod. But this is apparently mistaken, for the form is probably the imperfect tense of a verb from a different root. Cf. May, *loc. cit.*, p. 52, n. 44; J. J. Obermann in a personal communication; and W. F. Albright, *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, 83, Oct. 1941, pp. 39-42.

¹⁷*Journal of Theological Studies*, Oct. 1950, pp. 135-154.

¹⁸See *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 1952, Nr. 4, pp. 249f., by C. C. Torrey and Otto Eissfeldt.

TYPOLOGY—ITS USE AND ABUSE

By ROBERT C. DENTAN

Berkeley Divinity School

It is the purpose of this article first to give a definition of typology and then attempt briefly to assess its value for biblical studies today. Typological exegesis has become a popular tool among certain British and European scholars and there are signs that it is about to make a more significant impression upon the American scene, although little has yet appeared in American scholarly publications by way of systematic treatment of its nature, merits and dangers. The present discussion will endeavor to bring into focus some of the issues involved.

Part of the hesitancy of American scholars, and of some scholars abroad, to accept typology as a legitimate method of biblical interpretation is the result of a tendency to confuse typology with allegory and therefore to feel that the legitimization of typological method in biblical studies would open the way to the unlimited subjectivity of allegorism. Proponents of typology insist that the two methods are in their essential natures diametrically opposed, even though at some points the one may pass imperceptibly over into the other. Two contemporary and fairly extensive studies of the subject, L. Goppelt's *Typos*¹ and Père Daniélou's *Sacramentum Futuri*,² are emphatic in asserting the distinction. The allegorical method, they declare, is wholly subjective, in that it begins, not with the literal meaning of the text to be discussed, but rather with some moral, metaphysical or theological system which is then merely illustrated by the use of images drawn from the Bible. Daniélou says, "Allegory is not in fact a sense of scripture; it is a philosophy, or Christian morality, presented under biblical imagery, as the Stoics presented theirs under Homeric imagery." Typology, on the other hand, is concerned solely

¹Leonhard Goppelt, *Typos: Die Typologische Deutung des alten Testaments im Neuen* (Gütersloh, 1939).

²Jean Daniélou, *Sacramentum Futuri: Etudes sur les origenes de la typologie biblique* (Paris, 1950).

³Daniélou, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

and strictly with the literal sense of scripture (although not so much with the actual words as with the events, persons or institutions they describe⁴). Allegory, says Goppelt, seeks to find in the words or figures of a biblical text, "conceived as metaphors, 'a secondary meaning which is different from the literal sense of the text, and supposedly deeper, sometimes even excluding the literal sense.'⁵ The historicity of the narrative and the literal meaning of the text is indifferent for allegory; for typology . . . it is fundamental."⁶ And again, "The typical sense is not actually another or higher sense, but a different or higher use of the same sense."⁷ In a similar vein, Daniélou says, "It is definitely a misuse of words to place . . . moral allegorizing alongside typology under the same label of 'spiritual sense' as opposed to the 'literal'; the one represents the authentic prolongation of the literal sense, the other is a complete stranger to it; the one is exegesis, the other is not."⁸ The theory which underlies typology is the perfectly sound one, proved by many profane examples, that "the child is father to the man" and that "coming events cast their shadows long before." What has happened in the past is a prophecy of that which is yet to come. The behavior of any child, for instance, is filled with warnings, prefigurations or "types" of his future behavior as an adult. To take a different example: it would not be a misuse of the term we are considering to say that the League of Nations and the United Nations, abortive as both may seem, are "types" of that parliament of the world which must inevitably come some day. In both these instances the "typology" results from the continual and increasingly effective operation of a single force: in the one case, the developing character of a single individual; in the other, the growing momentum of an historical process.

If, then, as Christians believe, the Bible is an account of the work of God in history, a single story with one chief Actor, the same patterns or "types" may be expected to recur in various parts. The whole of biblical history is the result of the continuous impact of the unchanging God upon the life of His people and it would be surprising indeed if the essential *pattern* of His dealings with men were

⁴Goppelt, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

⁵Goppelt is here quoting Frederik Torm, *Hermeneutik des N.T.* (Göttingen, 1930), p. 213.

⁶Goppelt, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

⁷*Ibid.*, p. 14.

⁸Daniélou, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

not visible throughout. This is the philosophy upon which typology is based.⁷ The great crucial events of biblical history—the Creation, the Judgment upon Adam and the men of Noah's generation, the Salvation of men by the Ark or Exodus, the establishment of the saving Covenants, the choice of a "Peculiar" People—exhibit in unmistakable fashion the way in which God works. Typological exegesis is concerned with discovering these (and other) patterns, finding instances of their recurrence, and showing how the original sketch is finally filled in and the whole work brought to effective completion in the life of Jesus Christ.

This type of typological thinking is rooted securely in the Scriptures, in the Old Testament as well as in the New. Indeed, the typology of the New Testament is but the natural extension of that of the Old. Two instances of Old Testament typology may be mentioned by way of example: The first is the Exodus. The great, creative event in Israel's history had been God's deliverance of His people out of Egypt, depicted in Hebrew tradition as accompanied by many wonders, notably the passage of the Red Sea. Second Isaiah, living in the time of the Babylonian Exile, was sure that the same God was still working in history and that He would inevitably deliver His people again. A new and greater Exodus was about to take place, and the prophet uses imagery drawn from the old story to describe (typologically) this new event: "Thus saith Yahweh, who maketh a path in the sea and a path in the mighty waters; who bringeth forth the chariot and the horse, the army and the mighty man. . . . Behold I will do a new thing . . . I will make a way in the wilderness and rivers (paths?) in the desert" (Isa. 43:16-19). The second example is that of the reign of David: once Israel had been ruled by a just, beloved and prosperous king; God had set him over His people and given them a golden age under him and his son. But what God had once done, He would (typologically) do again: "David my servant shall be their prince forever" (Ezek. 37:25). Since limitations of space preclude the use of more extensive quotations, it is necessary simply to remark that the context of both these passages makes it clear that they are not concerned merely with the return of

⁷Traditional typology tends also to think of the "type" as having been deliberately created by God as a prophecy of the future, but the modern Christian is more likely to be attracted by the aspect stressed above, according to which the correspondence of type and antitype is evidence of the continuity and consistency of God's action in history rather than the result of an arbitrary divine fiat.

former things—this is not just nostalgia for the past, much less the product of a cyclical view of history—but with the appearance of something which, while analogous to the past, is new and greater, so new that Second Isaiah can say, “Remember ye not the former things, neither consider the things of old” (Isa. 43:18). The new Exodus will be like the old, but infinitely greater; the new David will not be the historical son of Jesse, but a new figure, like him in his virtues, but endowed with supernatural qualities quite foreign to the David of history. This “heightening” (*Steigerung* is Goppelt’s word) of the pattern is an essential element in genuine typology.

It is hardly necessary to demonstrate the existence of typology in the New Testament. In the Epistle to the Hebrews it plays a dominant role which is evident to the most casual reader (although it has often been confused with allegory). When Paul says, “Christ our passover is sacrificed for us; therefore let us keep the feast, not with old leaven, etc.” (I Cor. 5:7f), he is plainly comparing the death of Christ to the passover celebration in a typological sense. In similar fashion he says, in Rom. 5:14, that Adam “is a figure (*tupos*) of him that was to come.”¹⁰ In I Peter 3:21 the water of Noah’s flood is described as having its correspondence “in a true likeness” (*anti-tupon*) in the water of baptism. To what extent Jesus Himself thought typologically is not easy to determine in the present state of New Testament scholarship. The clearest example of typological consciousness in His career would seem to be the words “This is my blood of the covenant” (Mark 14:24 and parallels) with their recollection of the circumstances surrounding the establishment of the Mosaic covenant. While many other examples are to be found in the Gospels, either explicit or suggested, in most cases it is hard to tell whether they are the result of our Lord’s own teaching or the interpretation of the evangelists. The instances we have noted are obviously chosen only at random, but they illustrate how typological thinking is strikingly evident in certain passages of the New Testament. The real question is, of course, how far such typology is implicit in the rest of the New Testament, where its presence is not patent at first glance and becomes apparent only to the eye of the diligent and imaginative student of the subject. Both Goppelt and Daniélou maintain that typology is not an occasional and peripheral

¹⁰Note also I Cor. 10:6 (*tupoi*) and 11 (*tupikōs*) and Col. 2:17 (*skid tōn mellontōn*).

phenomenon, nor even primarily an exegetical method, but rather the fundamental perspective of the New Testament.¹¹

It remains to attempt briefly some kind of evaluation of the typological method and the claims which are made for it. In its favor the following points must be conceded: (1) There *is* typology in Scripture. Whether or not it is the basic point of view of the Bible, it is in any case an integral part of it and one who fails to give it due weight will be unable to read certain parts of the Bible with understanding or sympathy. Certainly those who are entirely blind to it will find the Epistle to the Hebrews a barren waste and will have to regard most of the New Testament exegesis of the Old Testament as fantastic nonsense. Typology was as surely a part of the biblical world-view as the scientific method is of ours and, if one has no sympathy for it, much of the Bible will remain a closed book. (2) Typology provides one of the keys for grasping imaginatively the unity of the Bible. The recurrence of the same images and themes throughout the Scripture helps to make intelligible the artistic and theological interrelationship of its various parts and helps in avoiding the fragmentation which is frequently the fruit of purely historical-grammatical studies. (3) If God is the ultimate author of biblical history, then an understanding of the patterns by which He works is indispensable, not merely for the esthetic appreciation of the Bible as a literary document, but for attaining that knowledge of God Himself which, as the prophet says, is more valuable than burnt-offerings.

On the other hand, certain cautions and reservations seem plainly in order: (1) A concern for typology often seems to lead its devotees into a world of fantasy and intellectual will-o'-the-wisps, as Père Daniélou's book or any history of biblical interpretation will illustrate. This must be avoided at all costs. There is no evidence that the New Testament writers (with the partial exception of the author of the Apocalypse) were writing cryptograms filled with mysterious images visible only to the eyes of the initiate. The New Testament impresses one as, on the whole, a healthy, open, straightforward document. The chances are that where typology is not explicitly utilized, or at least unambiguously clear to the ordinary reader when once uncovered, there is no typology at all. Occasional, fragmentary, and merely illustrative use of images derived from Israel's history must not be

¹¹Goppelt, *op. cit.*, p. 242; Daniélou, *op. cit.*, p. 143.

mistaken for genuine typology.¹² (2) In the pursuit of "types" one must beware of emptying the biblical record of its human freshness and creative vitality. The men of the Bible were real men, engaged in actual conflicts in contemporary human situations and not primarily concerned with fulfilling roles preordained by ancient types—or in tracing the fulfilment of such types. Typology played an important part in their thinking, but what was new, as Second Isaiah said, was far more important than what was old. Typology provided them with images and patterns which helped to make their own situation clear to them, but their point of central concern was what God was doing in their own time. No images from the past were adequate to encompass the meaning of the present. The old wine-skins were not entirely suitable for the new wine. One has the feeling that New Testament writers were often driven to use any image, derived from whatever source, and used in however confused a fashion, to express the truth which was the overwhelming, and essentially inexpressible, fact of their lives—that the living God was at work amongst them. (3) While, in some fashion typology is fundamental to the biblical point of view, yet it is not for the most part so much concerned with the repetition of the petty details of biblical stories and legends as with the great facts which are picturesquely embodied in those stories. The comparative rarity of explicit typology in both Testaments is evidence of this. Adam and the forbidden fruit are not so important as the universal fact of human sin; Noah and his flood are less significant than the truth that Yahweh is a God who comes in judgment; Moses and the Exodus play much less of a role in the biblical story than the certainty that God is able and willing to save His people from oppression. The great "types" pictured for us in the Bible primarily exemplify the basic modes of God's relationship to man. The Bible's chief concern is with the relationship and not with the example. The great themes of the Bible are: Creation, Sin, Judg-

¹²One may take the Temptation story as an example of the perils of typological method: According to one school of typologists the typology represented here is that of the "Second Adam" (I Cor. 15:22) meeting victoriously the temptations to which the first Adam had succumbed. The curious mention of the "wild beasts" in Mark's account (cf. Gen. 2:19) is appealed to as confirmatory evidence. Another school sees the typology as that of the "Second Moses" who safely brings his people through the wilderness. The relevant evidence here is the number "forty" (forty years), the three quotations from "Moses" (Deuteronomy) and the ministry of angels (Matt. 4:11 // *manna*, cf. Ps. 78 [77]:25 LXX). Where typologists differ so basically, the ordinary reader may suspect that some simpler interpretation is in order!

ment, Redemption, Covenant, The Holy People, The Word of God, Sacrifice, Kingship, and the like. The student of typology must be continually on guard lest, absorbed in the pursuit of minor and purely external correspondences in biblical narratives, he obscure the tremendous themes of which the stories are literally only *tupoi*, "examples."

CHRISTIAN STUDY OF THE JEWISH LITURGY

By FREDERICK C. GRANT

Union Theological Seminary

Christian study of the Jewish liturgy probably began, in the English-speaking world, with the brilliant group of Semitists whose interest either spurred, or was spurred by, the readmission of Jews into England in 1657. It is not the purpose of this brief paper to recount the history of research in this area, but to recommend it. For the proper understanding of the New Testament, the study of the ancient Jewish liturgy is of paramount importance. Ancient Judaism was by no means a decadent, moribund, sterile, formalistic religion—though there have not been lacking Christians, alas, who would have it so! The oldest sections of the Jewish liturgy are in direct and living contact with the later parts of the Old Testament, especially with II Isaiah and the Psalter. In fact the devotional—and not only the "legalistic"—study of the Law and Prophets, and likewise the continuing voice of psalmody, never ceased in Israel; and it was the combination of these two that provided the chief factor in the production and elaboration of the Synagogue liturgy. Christians familiar with a traditional liturgy will understand this, and also how the constant use of a liturgy provides a norm for faith and life, for devotion and spiritual aspiration, for moral effort and religious zeal; so that it will be impossible, at least for them, to describe the Synagogue prayers as expressions of religious formalism, unreality, or hypocrisy.

There is a further reason why Christian students should pay careful attention to the ancient Jewish liturgy. The early Church took over the forms of prayer, the titles of officers, the calendar, the translation of the scriptures, the round of lections, the very canon itself

and the current exegesis of these holy books from the Jewish Synagogue. Down into the early years of the third century, as the *Apostolic Tradition* of Hippolytus shows, the ordination prayers of the Church were Jewish ordination prayers, thinly veneered with Christian references: the pattern cited was Moses and the elders on the mount, not Jesus and his apostles! More than that, the Gospels are now viewed by an increasing number of modern interpreters as designed for liturgical use, from the very beginning, and as conformed to a Christian Jewish ecclesiastical calendar! It is evident that liturgics, both early Christian and Jewish, must henceforth be a part of the equipment of every thorough New Testament student.

The Christian student would do well to start with Dr. Louis Finkelstein's classic article, "The Development of the Amidah," in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, New Series, XVI (1925-6) 1-43, 127-170. The author begins with the old Palestinian recension of the Amidah (i.e. the Shemoneh Esreh or Eighteen Benedictions) which Dr. Solomon Schechter found among the fragments in the Cairo Genizah and published in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, Old Series, X (1898) 654-659.¹ The discovery of these fragments shows how conservative the liturgy is: the old Palestinian Amidah was to all intents and purposes the same in the first century and a thousand years later. All liturgies are conservative; the Palestinian Amidah is unusually so. Underlying the form of the prayer found in the Cairo fragments it is not difficult to recognize that an earlier form, or forms, must have preceded it. For its origin certainly antedates the revision made in the days of Gamaliel II, before the end of the first century, when the *birkat ha-minim* was introduced; it probably antedates the destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 70; and—this is why it is so very interesting to Christians—it is now possible for us to recover the form (or a form) in which the Amidah was said every day in Palestine in the lifetime of Jesus and the apostles, and was known by heart by all of them. It would even appear that the prayer was metrical (so some scholars reconstruct it), and as a rule fell into distichs followed by the responsive "Blessed art thou . . ." Quite recently Karl Georg Kuhn of Göttingen has argued that the lines rhymed, with the kind of rhyme Professor Burney and others have posited for the Aramaic originals of the Beatitudes, the Lord's Prayer, and other well known passages in the Gospels.

¹This recension was reprinted by Gustaf Dalman in *Worte Jesu* (1898) 310-313, and by W. Staerk in Lietzmann's *Kleine Texte* series, No. 58 (1910).

Dr. Finkelstein set out to ascertain, as closely as possible, the date of the various *berakahs* in the prayer; and this he was able to do with remarkable precision and probability, by a brilliant operation in comparative liturgics in which he used over a dozen rites from the various countries of the Dispersion. These later rites provided the foil against which to study the Genizah fragments, examine their original lineaments, and reconstruct the original—or the more original—form of the successive Benedictions and their earlier history. He chose several most interesting criteria. One was the use of the Tetragrammaton, which was used in a striking way in the old Palestinian text: it occurs in every concluding line of the prayer, and also at the beginning of eight of the Benedictions (1, 5, 8, 9, 14, 15, 16, 17). In some paragraphs *Abinu* is substituted for *YY Elohenu*—presumably because they come from a time when objection had arisen to pronouncing the Sacred Name. Another criterion is the number of the words used. In Benedictions 3, 5, and 7, there are exactly seven words—and probably also in the original form of the 10th. These probably date from a time when the pious counted the words in prayers, and when seven was a “sacred” number.² None of these Benedictions contain the Sacred Name followed by *Elohenu*: the inference is that they are either earlier or later. In addition to these criteria, which may be described as belonging to the realm of Form Criticism, there are the usual historical criteria. The prayer for the restoration of true judges (11) must come from the period just before the Great War of 66-70, when the jurisdiction of Jewish courts was being curtailed by the Romans. The prayer against heresy (12) was added in the time of Gamaliel II, according to Ber. 28b. But behind it must lie a form of the prayer which was really a “malediction,” not a Benediction, upon apostates and informers, perhaps in the days of the Maccabaean War, or possibly during the War against Rome.

The result of Dr. Finkelstein’s careful and learned investigation is that the oldest form of the Amidah originated as early as the beginning of the second century B.C., when it consisted of a single Benediction. This Benediction had an introduction, addressed to God in various terms and titles taken from the Pentateuch, and a central petition asking that the individual petitions of the congregation might be granted. As a second stage in its development, the priestly

²A Christian will note that the Lord’s Prayer has just seven petitions.

Blessing was added, perhaps as a result of the Maccabaean Wars when attendance at the temple was impossible. The same Wars led to the insertion of the prayer for Jerusalem, and after peace was established one or two others were added; but the Amidah grew slowly, "only two benedictions being added in the course of a century and a half." The additions were made by an authoritative body, the Sanhedrin no doubt; for they are found in the oldest parts of the Babylonian Amidah as well.³ An approximation to one of these stages, the one appropriate to the opening decades of the second century—the later N. T. period—is attempted herewith. I have purposely translated in the language of the Prayer Book, so that the archaic phraseology will carry the overtones of familiarity with the Old Testament, especially the Psalter and II Isaiah.

THE EIGHTEEN BENEDICTIONS

(Shemoneh-Esreh—Amidah)

In Ancient Palestinian recension

O Lord, open thou my lips,
And my mouth shall show forth thy praise.

1. Blessed art thou, O Lord our God,
The Most High God, Maker of heaven and earth,
Our Shield and the Shield of our fathers!
Blessed art thou, O Lord, the Shield of Abraham!
2. Thou are mighty for ever,
Thou sustaintest the living
And givest life to the dead.
Blessed art thou, O Lord, who makest the dead to live!
3. Holy art thou and terrible is thy Name,
And there is no God beside thee.
Blessed art thou, O Lord the holy God!
4. Bless us, our Father, with the knowledge of thyself,
And with understanding from thy Law.
Blessed art thou, O Lord, who blessest us with knowledge!
5. Turn us again, O Lord, and so shall we return;
Renew our days as in the times that are past.
Blessed art thou, O Lord, who hast pleasure in repentance!

³This seems to dispose of the view that each Synagogue had its own recension of the Amidah.

6. Forgive us, our Father, for we have sinned against thee;
Wash away our transgressions from before thine eyes.
Blessed art thou, O Lord, who dost abundantly forgive!
7. Look upon our distress, and wage our battle,
And deliver us for thy Name's sake.
Blessed art thou, O Lord, the Redeemer of Israel!
8. Heal, O Lord our God, the sorrows of our hearts,
And send forth healing for our wounds.
Blessed art thou, O Lord, who healest the sicknesses of thy people Israel!
9. Bless to us, O Lord our God, this year,
And fill the world with the treasures of thy goodness.
Blessed art thou, O Lord, who blessest the year!
10. Blow the great trumpet for our deliverance.
And raise up the banner for the gathering of our dispersed.
Blessed art thou, O Lord, who gatherest the dispersed of thy people Israel!
11. Restore our judges as in former days,
And our counsellors as at the beginning.
Blessed art thou, O Lord, who lovest judgment!
12. As for the apostates, let there be no hope,
And in judgment cause the kingdom of violence soon to be destroyed.
Blessed art thou, O Lord, who humblest the proud!
13. Upon the proselytes of righteousness show thy mercy,
And grant us a good reward with those who do thy will.
Blessed art thou, O Lord, the confidence of the righteous!
14. Have mercy, O Lord our God, upon thy city Jerusalem,
And upon Zion, where thy glory dwelleth.
Blessed art thou, O Lord, the God of David, who buildest Jerusalem!
15. Harken, O Lord our God, to the voice of our petition,
For thou art a gracious and merciful God.
Blessed art thou, O Lord, who hearest prayer!
16. Be gracious, O Lord our God, and dwell in Zion,
And let thy servants serve thee in Jerusalem.
Blessed art thou, O Lord; for thee will we worship in fear!

17. We give thee thanks, O Lord our God,
For all the blessings of thy goodness.

Blessed art thou, O Lord, to whom it is a good thing to give thanks!

18. Send forth thy peace upon Israel, thy people,
And bless us all, together.

Blessed art thou, O Lord, who makest peace!

TWO COMPARABLE ANCIENT PRAYERS

An old form of the *Yoser* (prayer before the *Shema*):

Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, eternal King, who in mercy
givest light to the world and to them that dwell therein. Holy, holy,
holy is the Lord of hosts: the whole earth is full of thy glory!

An early form of *Kaddish*:

May his great Name be magnified and hallowed in the world
which he has created according to his pleasure.

May he set up his Reign, [and cause his redemption to spring
forth, and bring his Messiah, and ransom his people,] in your days
and during your years, and during the years of the whole house of
Israel, and in a time near at hand; and let them say, Amen.

May his great Name be blessed for ever, unto the ages of ages!

L'envoi

No biblical scholar in the modern world has done more to emphasize the *religious* element in the Old Testament than has the author of *Personalities of the Old Testament*, *Thirty Psalmists*, and the Old Testament chapters of *The Beginnings of Our Religion*. In the teaching of Fleming James, theology springs into a living flame of devotion, prayer, inspiration. That is what has enabled him to "make the Bible live" for successive generations of college and seminary students, and for many thousands of other readers throughout the Christian Church and the Jewish Synagogue. It is in the spirit of this noble teacher and friend, from whom we have all learned during the course of many years, that I have aspired to present to students a document of the ancient worship of Israel, continuous with the inspired poetry of the Psalmists, and carrying their message to later generations, indeed framing the very words of the daily devotions of countless godly men and women through the long centuries since the *Amidah* first began to be recited.

HELLENISTIC ELEMENTS IN GALATIANS

By ROBERT M. GRANT

The University of the South

It may not be amiss to remove the critical tone from Porphyry's description of Origen and transfer it to the one who was once our dean and is always our friend. "A Greek educated in Greek learning, he drove headlong toward barbarian boldness." The early training of Dean James was Greek; later he turned to the study of the Old Testament, the field in which he has made such notable contributions. Moreover, it will be appropriate to present him on his seventy-fifth anniversary with a little study of some Hellenistic elements in an epistle often regarded as largely Hebrew. The apostle, like the dean, knew two languages: the religious language of the Old Testament and the rhetorical-philosophical language of Hellenism and Hellenistic Judaism.

Once Paul has completed his account of his relations with the church of Jerusalem (an important narrative for the study of his personality), he turns to a theoretical justification of his rejection of the Jewish law. The theory he sets forth is based on two axioms: (1) Abraham, who lived before the law was given, is a type of the gentile convert, and (2) the law came later; it was given "for the sake of transgressions." The chief points of the law with which Paul is concerned are dietary regulations (2:12), ritual observances (4:10), and circumcision (5:2).

These two axioms are derived from Hellenistic Judaism and from Hellenistic philosophy. In Hellenistic Judaism Abraham was regarded as the discoverer of astrology;¹ with other Chaldaeans he studied what Paul calls "days, months, seasons, and years" (Gal. 4:10; cf. Philo, *Abra.* 69). Then he passed beyond phenomena to their Creator, turning from gods "by nature not gods" (4:9) to the One who "by nature" is God. In discussing the Galatians' reversal of Abraham's conversion, Paul seems to be alluding to the commonplace derived from Antisthenes: "By law there are many gods, by nature one."² The

¹Cf. W. L. Knox in *HTR* 28 (1935), 55-60; S. Sandmel, *ibid.* 44 (1951), 137-39.
²Philodemus, *De piet.* p. 72 Gomperz; Cic. *Nat. deor.* i. 32.

Galatians have undone the work of Abraham and "observe" (a word used not only of religious but also of astronomical observation) the stars and the star-gods. Actually they are probably keeping Jewish festivals. The apostle accuses them of interest in astrology.³

The idea that the law was relatively recent is self-evidently derived from the Old Testament. What, then, did the patriarchs observe, since they lived before the giving of the law? In Hellenistic Judaism we find this question answered in terms of the unwritten principle which the patriarchs embodied, the law of nature which the law of Moses imitated.⁴ In rabbinic Judaism it was said that the patriarchs kept the Mosaic law by anticipation.⁵ Paul seems to hold neither view; like Philo (*Abr.* 262ff.) he lays great weight on the faith of Abraham (Gal. 3:6, Rom. 4:3) but does not say either that Abraham observed the law of nature—although there is such a law (Rom. 2:14-15; cf. I Cor. 11:14)—or that he anticipated the Mosaic law. Paul claims that the law has been abolished by the death of Christ.

A singular feature in his argument is that the lateness of the law proves its lack of validity (we may compare the words of Jesus about divorce as permitted by Moses in spite of God's purpose in creation). The covenant with Abraham has not only chronological but also theological priority. Thus in some way the law represents a decline from an original pure legislation (the law of nature?). Such a theory is expressed before Paul's time by the Stoic philosopher Posidonius, in his studies of primitive religion. His account, preserved by the geographer Strabo (xvi. 2. 37), describes the pure monotheism of Moses which was later corrupted by his successors who added dietary legislation and circumcision. Perhaps, although we cannot be certain, Posidonius held that all external rites were added by Moses' successors.⁶ Something like this theory has provided the *praeparatio* for Paul's *evangelium*. The decline is placed earlier, for the corruption of Moses' successors has become the corruption of Moses himself, or of the angels who gave him the law (Gal. 3:19).

Paul uses several metaphors to explain the status of the Christian, now freed from obedience to the law. One is the figure of purchase

³Cf. Bo Reicke in *JBL* 70 (1951), 259-76. Astrological terms in Rom. 8:39.

⁴Cf. Philo, *Abr.* 5-6; Dr. S. Sandmel writes that "Philo adheres to this pattern throughout his writings."

⁵The theory is first found in *Jubilees*; Philo apparently criticizes it (*Abr.* 276).

⁶Cf. K. Reinhardt, *Poseidonios über Ursprung und Entartung* (Heidelberg, 1928), 6-34; M. Pohlenz, *Die Stoia* (Göttingen, 1948), I 213.

from a former master (Gal. 3:13; 4:5), more fully worked out in I Corinthians.⁷ Another is the figure of a boy at first supervised by a "pedagogue," later free to receive an inheritance from his father (Gal. 3:17-4:7; probably a combination of two metaphors). This figure, as J. S. Callaway has pointed out, is paralleled in the *Lysis* of Plato (108c-210c).⁸ But the pedagogue is so common in Hellenistic literature that we need not (as Callaway does not) suppose that Paul knows Plato. Note that the pedagogue takes the young boy to the primary school, where he learns first his alphabet, then syllables, the first of which is BA.⁹ So it is, as I have argued elsewhere,¹⁰ that after we are freed from the law-pedagogue we are able to learn to say ABBA, "Father" (Gal. 4:6).

The apostle obviously knows something of rhetoric. We find an example of a technical term in Galatians 4:24: *allegoroumena*, "spoken allegorically." The term was modern: the first examples of its use come from the first century B.C.¹¹ The apostle also uses *systoichei* (Gal. 4:25), a term used of the correspondence of a pair of columns, in which one is odd, the other even. Thus the Greek words for "the present Jerusalem" have the numerical value of 1364, while the sum of Hagar and Sinai is 1365.¹² Other rhetorical expressions are found in his exhortation to the Galatians. "O foolish Galatians, who has entranced you, before whose very eyes Jesus Christ was portrayed as crucified?" (Gal. 3:1). Rhetorical skill is called a magical "spell" in Pseudo-Demosthenes, *Exord.* xxxii 3, and according to Philostratus, *Vit. Soph.* i. 22. 3, Dionysius of Miletus was suspected of sorcery because of the power of his memory. "Before the eyes" is a rhetorical term denoting clarity.¹⁴ The word *prographo* has the meaning not only of "portray" but also of "proscribe" (as a criminal): perhaps Paul has both meanings in mind, since he uses the word "crucified."

There is a more philosophical theme in Galatians which, as I have

⁷Cf. W. L. Westermann in *Proc. Amer. Philos. Soc.* 92 (1948), 55-64.

⁸*JBL* 67 (1948), 353-56.

⁹Cf. E. Schuppe in *RE* XVIII 2, 2375-85.

¹⁰H. I. Marrou, *Histoire de l'éducation dans l'antiquité* (Paris, 1950), 211-12.

¹¹*HTR* 39 (1946), 71-73.

¹²Philodemus, *Rhet.* I, 164:22, 174:24 Sudhaus; Cic. *Att.* ii. 20. 3. SVF I 526 does not reproduce Cleanthes' language.

¹³H. Lietzmann, *An die Galater* (Tübingen, 1932), 31-32 (he takes no account of "odd and even").

¹⁴Cf. W. Kroll in *RE* Suppl. VII 1111-12.

elsewhere suggested,¹⁵ may owe something to Hellenistic thought. This is Paul's analysis of the conflict within man not between two "impulses", as in rabbinic Judaism, but between what he calls "flesh" and "spirit." The theme is more fully developed in Romans, where there is a "law in my members" warring against "the law of my reason (*nous*)."¹⁶ A somewhat similar picture of human schizophrenia is set forth in the *Medea* of Euripides (1078-80) in a famous passage best known to us from Ovid's translation (*Metam.* vii. 18-21):

Si potes, infelix! si possem, sanior essem;
sed trahit invitam nova vis, aliudque cupido,
mens aliud suadet: video meliora proboque,
deteriora sequor!

The idea that, as Galen expresses it,¹⁷ "the seed of evil is in ourselves" was developed from the *Medea* by Posidonius and became a commonplace of Middle Platonism. Thus the philosophical analysis of the human situation could prepare the way for Paul. What of the solution? For Posidonius, as Pohlenz points out,¹⁸ man is expected to follow the *daimon* within him which is cognate with the spirit of God. (Gal. 5:16-17).

We may add that *pathemata* in the sense of "emotions" (Gal. 5:24) is used in a semi-philosophical sense (cf. Plato, *Phileb.* 33d), and that lists of "passions" (in a bad sense) entered Hellenistic Judaism apparently after their invention by Posidonius.¹⁹

Finally, as commentators have often observed, "what a man sows, this shall he reap" (Gal. 6:7) is probably proverbial (cf. I Cor. 15:33), and the "marks of Jesus" (6:17) signify that Paul is Jesus' slave as others were slaves of oriental gods.²⁰

These Hellenistic elements in Galatians indicate that we must take seriously the apostle's own statement that "there is no longer Jew or Greek . . . for you are all one in Christ Jesus" (3:28). Jewish and Hellenistic elements are almost inextricably woven in his thought and expression. His ideas cannot be understood from the Old Testament alone, or from Judaism alone, or from the Hellenistic world alone. He has baptized all these elements into Christ and uses them to explain to others (and to himself) what the gospel means.

¹⁵ *Miracle in Graeco-Roman and Early Christian Thought* (Amsterdam, 1952), 92.

¹⁶ *Scripta min.* II 78 Müller; cf. SVF III 473; Albinus, *Eisag.* 24.

¹⁷ M. Pohlenz, *op. cit.*, I 224-26, II 112-13.

¹⁸ Cf. Regenbogen in *RE* XX 1476; also B. S. Easton in *JBL* 51 (1932), 1-12.

¹⁹ Lietzmann, *op. cit.*, 45-46.

ON THE PROBLEM OF THE LAW IN THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS

By JOHANNES HEMPEL

Salzgitter-Lebenstedt, Germany

Translated by ROBERT M. GRANT

When Fleming James presents us with his portrayal of the principal figures of the New Testament, as a companion piece to his valuable treatment of the great "personalities of the Old Testament," we shall expect—since in him missionary interest and philological-historical learning are intimately connected—to find especial interest in his treatment of Paul. I wish here to attempt a brief study of an important problem in order to understand the Apostle's personal feelings. One of the decisive events in his development was his collision with the Law.¹ For him this became the great awakener of the sins which, unknown to him, lay dormant within him. The formidable questions aroused by this event are well known. How can a law intended to give life effect death? Must this not mean that God gave a law which was not good? For one who had been brought up in the law such a thought could not be fully accepted, in spite of all his experiences contrary to the law. No, the sins lying dormant within men transformed the good law into the power of death—which in fact it now is, although at the same time it serves God's plan of salvation. The law takes off its own disguise and appears as what it is, a slave-owner leading to condemnation; and it leads through the cry of longing on to salvation and finally to grateful adoration of the Savior.

But not everyone who is under the law takes this path. Paul could win only a tiny minority of his fellow Jews to such an understanding. Apparently they were even fewer than the converts of others such as Apollos. Therefore a second, subsidiary theory was introduced. This theory too ascribes a positive rôle in God's plan of salvation to sins.

¹Instead of giving references to the practically limitless literature on Paul, I mention only the work of an American scholar who stands especially close to Fleming James: Frederick C. Grant, *An Introduction to New Testament Thought*, New York, 1950, pp. 172ff.

It is the idea, well known from the Old Testament, of the hardening of hearts, willed by God. By means of this hardening, God punishes past sins, not eternally but for a period of time which is completely determined, ordained by God, and will be brought to an end by God at a future point of time. What has already become a reality for the believers in Christ, when they have died with him in baptism and have been allowed to share in his resurrection and in life in the Spirit, will then, because of God's faithfulness in regard to his promise, become real for all Israel as the people of the law.

If one reviews these fundamental ideas of Romans (as of Galatians), another problem will become acute, a problem which leads on to confessional controversies within Christian churches. Everyone knows the importance which Romans 3:28 held for Luther. What does "law" mean in this verse? Certainly it is primarily the Jewish Torah! Perhaps it will help us to understand the Apostle's meaning if we replace the Greek *nomos* by a Hebrew term and retain the latter when we translate into a modern language. "Without the works of the Torah, (only) through faith." Tempting though such an interpretation would be, since it would check the expression of polemic within Christianity and could be understood in a common Christian way, it must remain a question whether it would strike the whole circumference of the Apostle's faith. He certainly knows another law, also given by God but outside the Jewish one. This law is inscribed in the heart of all the heathen and transgression of it also was punished by "hardening." For the heathen, too, judgment on sin takes place through new, unavoidable transgression. There are, however, two essential differences between these laws. In the first place, the Apostle takes into account this law given the whole world not only whenever he stresses the sinfulness of mankind outside Judaism, but also when he mentions the fulfilment of its regulations among the heathen who "by nature do the works of the law" and therefore become "just" compared with the one who breaks the Jewish law. From this Paul is able to repeat moral admonitions which are only partly derived from the Old Testament expressions (such as the decalogue) but appear as "fruits of the Spirit" and correspond in content to Hellenistic popular ethics. Though we do not find them theoretically compared, the law of God given the heathen and the new life of Christians which is effected by the Spirit run parallel to each other. This point might suggest that the Hellenism of the Hellenistic Jew Paul was stronger than his Judaism. Our

second observation fundamentally contradicts such a conclusion. Paul fails to see any inner connection between this general law and God's decree of salvation in Christ, which is the Apostle's deepest concern. This decree of salvation belongs to the history of God's special revelation, not to the general history of moral feelings. The *paidagogos eis Christon* is the Jewish law, not the universal one, even when the transgression of the latter makes it clear that all, heathen and Jew alike, are in need of grace.

Here, to be sure, we touch upon a problem which was to play an important rôle in the further course of Christian theology. This is the question of the relation of this general law to the fundamental moral admonitions within the Old Testament, especially the decalogue. I am not thinking of dealing here with the historical origin of the decalogue, which H. H. Rowley has handled in an exceptionally interesting way,² or with its admonitions, either as a whole or in part. For the present I wish only to suggest that Paul expresses in a thoroughly radical form the idea that Christ is the end of the law, but then—in the thought of love as the fulfilment of law—ascribes a permanent value to the Ten Commandments, or at least to the most important regulations, which had also really been recognized by Jesus himself. The call of the Christian to freedom must not lead to the point of allowing the "flesh," the principle opposed to God, the possibility of operating; freedom and service in love really fall together under the rule of the Spirit. Paul simply mentions this point and does not discuss it. In the ancient church, especially in Irenaeus' polemic against Marcion, he relates everything to his proof of the *unity* of the two testaments through the quality of the law as revelation. One and the same God as *pater familias*, and one and the same Word of God (Jesus Christ) reveal themselves in both. The saying about Jesus as the end of the law must serve to prove this unity.

How is Christ the end if the law if he was not its beginning?
He who brought about the end effected the beginning (*Adv. haer.* iv. 12. 4; ed. Stieren, I, 594).

Not only the fulfilment of the "Mosaic" prophecies in Christ, but also the agreement in content of the decisive commandments (the acceptance of the fourth in Matt. 15:4 and of the "greatest commandment") prove the likeness of the Legislator.

²"Moses and the Decalogue," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, Vol. xxxiv. 1, September, 1951.

Therefore, since in the law and in the gospel the first and greatest commandment is to love the Lord God with the whole heart, and similarly there is loving one's neighbor as oneself: the Founder of law and gospel is proved to be one and the same. For since the main precepts of life in both testaments are the same, they reveal the same God, who gave particular precepts suited for each, but commands higher and indeed supreme, without which one cannot be saved, the same in both (*Adv. haer.* iv. 12. 3, p. 593).

On the other hand, Irenaeus did not forget that Christ was really the *end* of the law. Therefore it was not enough for him to strike against loveless misuse of the words of the law (as in Matt. 23:2ff.). Indeed, there is first of all a quantitative difference between the legislation of the Old Testament and that of the New. He finds a reference to this in Matt. 12:6 ("greater than the temple"). Under the clear influence of Gal. 5:1 (and also of James 1:25 and 2:12), this difference seems to pass into a qualitative one. The legislation for freedom is greater than the legislation for slavery, because it is expressed not just for *one* people but for the whole world. In the treatment of this idea the quantitative element remains, as the word "addition" shows.

This is the difference between God and man, that God makes, while man is made; he who makes is always the same, while that which is made has a beginning, a middle, and an addition, and it must receive increase (*Adv. haer.* iv. 11. 2, p. 590).

Irenaeus goes on to apply this idea of "increase" to a group of commandments which, while encountered in the Old Testament, are older than the Mosaic legislation. These are the commandments which took its place and were observed by the men "who were justified by faith and pleased God" (*Adv. haer.* iv. 13. 1, p. 595). They are the prohibitions set forth in Matt. 5:20ff., where the "more" added by Jesus consists of rejecting not only the deed but also the desire. Irenaeus combines this idea with that of "freedom" in a highly ingenious fashion which we cannot discuss here. Suffice it to say that for these pre-Mosaic laws which "from the beginning God gave fixed in men" (cf. the Pauline law written in the heart of all the heathen) Irenaeus uses one expression which is lacking in the Apostle. This expression, unfortunately not preserved in Greek, is *naturalia legis* ("the Lord did not destroy the *naturalia legis*") or *naturalia paecepta*.

All the "natural precepts" are common to us and to them, but they have their beginning and origin in them while in us they have received increase and fulfilment. For to assent to God and to follow his Word and to love him above all and one's neighbor as oneself (every man is man's neighbor) and to abstain from every evil work—all such commandments which are common to both (testaments) reveal one and the same God. And this is our Lord, the Word of God, who at first drew slaves to God but later freed those who were subject to him—as he himself said to the disciples (John 15:15, *Adv. haer.* iv. 13. 4, pp. 597f.).

In just the same way, these pre-Mosaic commandments are set beside the decalogue and at the same time are limited to it. The decalogue is not like the Old Testament legislation and the New Testament prescriptions which go beyond it; it does not form part of the injunctions given because of the hardness of men's hearts. As *signa* these injunctions have no power to justify man. On the contrary, the fulfilment of the decalogue results not in slavery but in the greatest benefit for men, the *gloria Dei* they had lost. For Irenaeus the decalogue is not a part of the Mosaic legislation which leads only to slavery; it is a part of the natural law given by the same God through the same Word. As an expression of the loving will of God it possesses power to justify. Then Abraham and Lot and Noah and Enoch were righteous (just), though they did not observe the Sabbath!

I cannot here trace the ways in which these thoughts of the God-given "natural law" were worked out in the Reformation, especially in Luther, and are working today—how the viewpoint of "broadening" (*Ausweitung*) changed into that of "compliance" (*Anschmiegung*) and in this form continues to acquire new meaning today.*

Our only conclusion here concerns this fact: the radicalism of the Pauline proposition about Christ as the end of the law is limited by the Apostle himself, in the face of a libertarian position "beyond good and evil." It is limited by the appeal to a universal law whose place in the total context of the plan of salvation is not clearly visible. Irenaeus endeavors to work this idea out both in content and in language, although at the same time he strives to guarantee the Lordship of Jesus Christ and the unique relation of salvation to him.

*I refer to a more thorough treatment of the question of the value of the decalogue which will shortly appear in the *Deutsche Pfarrerblatt*.

He did not free us so that we should depart from him; for no one can acquire increments of salvation for himself apart from the good things of the Lord. In order to acquire his grace more, let us love him more. The more we love him, the greater is the glory which we shall receive from him, when we shall be always in the sight of the Father (*Adv. haer.* iv. 13. 3, p. 597).

Everyone who has had the joy and honor, as I have, to be permitted to know Fleming James personally, will understand why I conclude this note dedicated to him with this reference to the inner union of God's love, Christ's grace, and *gloria in conspectu Patris*.

ON THE MEANING AND ORIGIN OF MICAH 6:8

By J. PHILIP HYATT

Vanderbilt University

The Masoretic Text of Micah 6:8, arranged according to its poetic structure, is as follows:

higgîd l'ka 'adam mah-tôb
 'âmah-YHWH dôrêsh mimm'ka
 kî 'im-'asôt mishpaqî w'ahabat hésed
 w'haçnêa' léket 'im-'elôhêyka

This well-known passage is usually translated: "He has told thee, O man, what is good; and what does the LORD require of thee, but to do justice, to love kindness, and to walk humbly with thy God?"

The text of this verse appears to be in excellent order, and the translation seems to be very easy. Yet, it presents several problems of translation and interpretation, as well as problems of poetic structure and dating. This paper proposes to call attention to some of the problems involved and suggest answers on the basis of newly available evidence.

The problems of translation have to do with the syntax of the latter half of the verse, and the precise meaning of 'ahabat hésed and haçnêa' léket. The usual rendering construes not only 'asôt, but also 'ahabat and léket as infinitives, both in Hebrew and English. But a different rendering is possible and is probably closer to the original meaning.

The Manual of Discipline among the Dead Sea Scrolls (abbreviated DSD)¹ contains the two phrases *'ahabat h̄esed* and *haq̄n̄ā' l̄eket* several times, and W. H. Brownlee has already pointed out that their use in this document supports the rendering of the second half of our verse: but to practice (1) justice, (2) loving devotion, and (3) walking humbly with thy God.² The suggestion he has made deserves more thorough consideration than he was able to give it in his pioneering translation of DSD.

The phrase *'ahabat h̄esed* occurs five times in DSD: ii 24; v 4, 25; viii 2; x 26. In two of these occurrences, the phrase is clearly the object of the verb *'asah*, and probably also in a third. DSD v 4 is in a section which describes how decisions on matters effecting the life of the Community are to be reached, "according to the sons of Zadok the priests who keep the covenant, according to the majority of the men of the Community who hold to the covenant" (v 2-3). DSD v 3-4 may then be translated: "According to their decree the decision of the lot shall go forth regarding every matter, regarding *torah*, regarding property, and regarding justice, concerning the practice (*l'swt*) of the truth of the Community, and humility, righteousness, and justice, and *'ahabat h̄esed*, and *haq̄n̄ā' l̄eket* in all their ways, so that no one shall walk in the stubbornness of his own heart." Here the two phrases are objects of the infinitive construct *la'asōt*.

DSD viii 1-3 may be translated: "In the council of the Community there shall be twelve laymen and three priests who are blameless in all that has been revealed from the whole *torah* concerning the doing (*l'swt*) of truth and righteousness and justice and *'ahabat h̄esed* and *haq̄n̄ā' l̄eket*, everyone with his neighbor." Here also the two phrases are objects of the infinitive construct of *'asah*. It seems to me that this infinitive is to be taken in close connection with the immediately preceding phrase, as I have translated it, rather than as a description of the fifteen men referred to.

DSD x 26 is somewhat uncertain of translation because there is a tear in the text before the occurrence of our phrase, and also at the

¹*The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's Monastery*, Vol. II, Fascicle 2: *Plates and Transcription of the Manual of Discipline*, edited by Millar Burrows (New Haven, 1951).

²*The Dead Sea Manual of Discipline, Translation and Notes* (Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, Supplementary Studies, Nos. 10-12; New Haven, 1951), Appendix B, pp. 48-49.

end of the preceding line. This is part of the long poem with which DSD closes. The immediate context is apparently a description of the life of the author. It is probable that the verb 'asôt occurred in the lacuna, and that the author says of himself, among other things, that he "practices 'ahabat *hésed* toward those who are humbled (*lnwkn'ym*)". DSD ii 24 is part of a section describing how the various members of the Community are to live together. They are to be in "'ahabat *hésed* . . . everyone with respect to his fellow in the holy council and as eternal members of the conclave." DSD v 25 is in a portion of the document which describes the way in which neophytes are taken into the Community, and how they are to live with the others and with one another. Among other things it prescribes that "each must reprove his neighbor in tr[uth] and humility and with 'ahabat *hésed* toward each other."

Two facts stand out in this survey of the use of the phrase 'ahabat *hésed* in DSD: (1) it is clearly a substantive that may be used as the object of the verb 'asah; and (2) it describes a quality which is primarily concerned with the relationship between a man and his neighbor. How are we to translate it here, and in Micah 6:8? It is possible of course that it means "love of *hésed*," with *hésed* as the object of "love." Yet, I believe that Brownlee is correct in considering *hésed* as an attributive. The phrase means "*hésed* love" or "love of the *hésed* type." This is a construction which is common in the Old Testament, though it is not always recognized. Two nouns may stand in construct relationship, the *nomen rectum* serving to define more accurately the *nomen regens*, and being used virtually as an adjective.³ A familiar example is *rûah qôdesh*, "holy spirit." Constructions of this nature are very common in DSD; sometimes the *nomen rectum* has a pronominal suffix.

Brownlee suggests translating the phrase "loving devotion." This, however, reverses the two nouns, even in the light of his own discussion. "Devoted love" would be more accurate. Since *hésed* has at bottom the meaning of faithfulness, loyalty, and the like, I would suggest the rendering "faithful love." *Hésed* is often (but not always) used of relationships in which a covenant exists, or is implied. It is an especially appropriate word to describe the life of the Judaean Covenanters, since the members entered a covenant as they joined the

³Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Hebrew Grammar*, 128, p.

Community. "*Hésed* love" or "faithful love" is not tautologous, since '*ahabah* may be used to describe other kinds of love.

The second phrase to be discussed is *haqñēa' léket*, or more specifically the single word *haqñēa'*. This is a hapax legomenon in the Old Testament and it has long given difficulty to translators, though there is now rather common agreement in considering it as an infinitive absolute used adverbially, and in translating it "humbly." Yet, a quick survey of the way the verb was translated in ancient times, of its use in Ecclesiasticus, and of its possible meanings, should lead us to see that the meaning is not certain.

We should note first that a word derived from the same root as *haqñēa'* occurs in Prov. 11:2. It is *ç'nū'îm*, which is generally translated "lowly, modest, humble" or the like. This meaning seems assured by the contrast to "pride" (*zadôن*) in the first half of the proverb.

The Septuagint translated the last phrase of Micah 6:8, "and to be prepared (*hétoimon*) to walk with the Lord thy God." A similar rendering is found in the Syriac Peshitta, which uses '*atid*'. It should be noted that Syriac has an adjective *çnî'* which sometimes means "ready," though its more common meaning is "skilful" or "crafty." Perhaps the LXX and Pesh. readings are based upon the meaning of the root *çn'* in Syriac. The Vulgate rendered the last phrase of Micah 6:8: *solicitum ambulare cum Deo tuo*. The meaning is probably "to walk carefully with thy God." Targum renders it: "and be *çnîa'* to walk in the fear of thy God."

Forms derived from the root *çn'* occur four times in the Hebrew text of Ecclesiasticus, but they are variously rendered in the Greek text.⁴ In Eccl. 16:23 (Heb.) *bhçn'* is rendered by the Greek *en akribēia*, "with exactness." The Syriac renders it "in wisdom." The Hebrew may be translated: "I will pour out my spirit by weight; and declare my knowledge with skill." In Eccl. 32:3, the Heb. *hçn'* *skl* is rendered by the Greek, *en akribei epistēmē*, "with sound understanding." The Hebrew of the second half of the verse should probably be rendered: "And make your understanding sound, and hinder not music."

⁴I have used the text of Israel Levi, *The Hebrew Text of the Book of Ecclesiasticus* (Leiden, 1904). It is by no means certain that the preserved fragments are of the original text of Eccl. In all probability they are not, but it is equally probable that in many passages they represent the original. On the history of the text, see especially M. H. Segal, "The Evolution of the Hebrew Text of Ben Sira," *IQR*, XXV (1934-5), 91-149.

In Eccl. 31:22, *çnew'* (an adjective) is rendered by *entrechēs*, "industrious, quick." The Hebrew can easily be translated: "In all your works be skilful, and no disease will overtake you." Finally, Eccl. 42:8 contains the phrase *'ysh çnew'*, which is rendered by the Greek, *dedokimasménos*, "approved." It probably means "skilful man."

In postbiblical Hebrew and in Aramaic the root *çn'* has, in addition to the idea of humility or modesty, two closely related ideas: (1) purity, chastity, and the like; and (2) secrecy, privacy, and the like. From time to time commentators have selected one of these meanings for the rendering of the last phrase of Micah 6:8. For example, George Adam Smith suggests that it may mean walking in secret with God.⁵ The idea of purity is adopted by T. H. Robinson.⁶ A. Cohen says that the phrase really means "to walk modestly (in the sense of 'in decency, chastity, and purity') with thy God."⁷

We may be able to secure light on the meaning of *haçnēa'* *léket* from DSD. The phrase occurs in the following passages in this scroll: DSD iv 5; v 4; and viii 2. The last two are in contexts with *'ahabat hésed*, and we may refer to our discussion above of these passages. It should be noticed that in both cases the phrase is a substantive, used as object of *la'asôt*. In viii 2 the phrase is immediately followed by *'m rhw*, "with his neighbor," which may be taken either directly with the phrase itself or with the series in which it is contained; it seems more satisfactory to render it primarily with *haçnēa'* *léket*.

The third occurrence, iv 5, is in a passage which is describing the "ways" or the "counsels" (*swdy*) of the Spirit of Truth; actually it is a description of the virtues of the men who are directed by that Spirit, with which are contrasted the vices of those who are directed by the Spirit of Perversion (iv 9-12). The virtues in iv 2-6 are expressed either by nouns or by infinitives used substantivally. There is not space here to translate the whole of the passage. We need only note that it ends with these words: *whçn' lkt b'rmt kwl whb' l'mt rzy d't*. This is obscure, and difficult to render. The fifth word is usually transliterated *wħb'*. But the second letter is more likely *he* than *heth*; cf. the *he* of the second word in iv 2. I assume that the word is *habē'*, hifil inf. abs. of *bō'* and translate: "walking *haçnē* with prudence in everything, and bringing to the truth the mysteries

⁵*The Book of the Twelve Prophets* (London 1928) I, p. 455.

⁶"und in Reinheit wandeln mit deinem Gott." *Die Zwölf Kleinen Propheten* (Handbuch z. A.T., I, 14; Tübingen, 1938), p. 146.

⁷*The Twelve Prophets* (Soncino, 1948), p. 182.

of knowledge." The last phrase should be compared especially with DSH vii 14: *brzy 'rmtw* "in his wise mysteries."

Can we gain from DSD any hints as to the precise translation of *haçnē'* in Micah 6:8? Four ideas seem to be contained in the root *çn'* in Hebrew, Aramaic and Syriac: (1) humility, lowliness, modesty; (2) purity, chastity; (3) secrecy, privateness; and (4) skill (or craftiness). We can perhaps arrive at the meaning by a process of elimination. Since the phrase in DSD does not refer to "walking" with God, but rather with man, the third idea can be ruled out. One might speak of "walking secretly" with God, but hardly with one's fellow, at least in light of the general constitution of the Judaean Covenanters.

The first meaning, in its ordinary significance, should probably be ruled out because of the occurrence of a common word for humility in connection with the phrase *haçnē'a' léket*. In DSD iv 3, in the list of virtues of those who are under the control of the Spirit of Truth, we find *rwh 'nwh*, "a spirit of humility." Also, in DSD v 4 we find, in the series of objects of the verb *la'asôt*, *'nwh*, "humility," along with *'ahabat hésed* and *haçnē'a' léket*. Furthermore, in the first named list there occurs the virtue, *thrt kbwd mt'b kwl glwly ndh*, "glorious purity, loathing all impure idols." The Judaean Covenanters placed great emphasis on purity, both moral purity and physical purity, and the "Purity of the Many" is mentioned several times as if it were a physical or quasi-physical entity.

By this process of elimination we are left with the fourth meaning, the one which occurs especially in Syriac: "skilfully, exactly, wisely." It seems entirely possible that this is the correct meaning both in DSD and Micah 6:8. One should not insist, of course, that the meaning of the root is entirely different from other words in the same context. In the lists in DSD which we have discussed, synonyms do sometimes occur, such as *mishpat* and *ç'daqah*. But synonyms are never completely equivalent. Strong evidence for the idea of skill or wisdom in our root is the fact that it is the idea involved in the four occurrences in Ecclus., which may have been composed about the same time as DSD. Furthermore we should note the occurrence in DSD iv 5-6 of the closely related word *'rmh*. The root *çn'* was a word of polar meaning; it might signify either skill or craftiness. The same thing is true of the root *'rm* in Biblical Hebrew and in DSD (for *'rmh* in the sense of "craftiness" see DSD iv 11). Finally, this meaning may

lie back of the translations of Micah 6:8 given by LXX and Vulgate.

For the Judaean Covenanters "walking wisely with one's fellow" would include in some instances the observance of proper humility. In this group there were several classes, new members were required to undergo a specified period of probation, and the order of enrollment was significant. Members were expected to have appropriate respect for one another. "Walking wisely" required that a member be aware of his own position and treat others according to their seniority. It is significant that the Aramaic root *cn'* has in the Pael stem the meaning "to make one respect authority." In Micah 6:8, therefore, "walking wisely" includes proper humility in the presence of God, but that does not exhaust its meaning.

Our discussion of the meaning of Micah 6:8 may be summed up in the following translation, which is made somewhat free in order that the meaning may be clear:

You have been told, O man, what is good,
and what the Lord requires of you:
only to practice justice and faithful love
and living wisely in fellowship with your God.

We may add a final note regarding the origin of Micah 6:6-8. Many critical scholars believe that this section is not from Micah, but rather from the time of Manasseh, or from the post-exilic period. The fact that it is addressed to "man" rather than to the nation, and certain peculiarities of vocabulary suggest strongly that the passage is post-exilic.

It is a striking fact that the late Paul Haupt once wrote that Micah 6:6-8 "may be an Essenean psalm," and he dated it cir. 100 B.C.⁸ This date is too late, for the prophetic books had been canonized by that time. But it was a good insight which saw a relationship between the thought of this passage and that of the Essenes. The Judaean Covenanters have been connected by several scholars with the Essenes in one way or another; perhaps they were a group of Essenes or the predecessors of those who were later called Essenes.⁹ The date of

⁸*The Book of Micah: a New Metrical Translation with Restoration of the Hebrew Text and Explanatory and Critical Notes* (Chicago, 1910), pp. 13, 60-63.

⁹Cf. Millar Burrows, "The Discipline Manual of the Judaean Covenanters," in *Oudtestamentische Studiën*, Vol. VIII (Leiden, 1950), 156-192; W. H. Brownlee, "A Comparison of the Covenanters of the Dead Sea Scrolls with pre-Christian Jewish Sects," *BA*, XIII (1950), 49-72.

the composition of DSD may be as early as cir. 175 B.C., shortly before the Maccabaean Revolt.¹⁰

The attitude of DSD toward sacrifice is similar to that expressed in Micah 6:6-8. The document contains no directions for animal sacrifice, and ix 3-5 expresses the belief that there will be atonement for transgression and divine favor for the land "without the flesh (*mbsr*) of burnt offerings and the fat of sacrifice, while an offering of the lips will be accounted as a proper fragrant offering, and perfection of way as an acceptable freewill offering." In x 6, 8, 14 there are references to offerings of the lips. It is possible, therefore, that the Judaean Covenanters objected to animal sacrifice; if they did practice it, they placed it in quite a secondary position. Philo implies that the Essenes did not practice sacrifice (*Quod omnis probus liber sit*, 75). The Damascus Covenanters, however, did offer sacrifice (CDC xiii 27; xiv 1).

In the light of the similarities in vocabulary and thought between Micah 6:6-8 and DSD, we may conjecture that our passage originated in the fourth or third century B.C. in a group of pious Jews, *hasidim*, who were deeply influenced by the pre-exilic prophets and by the wisdom teachers. They were the spiritual ancestors of the Judaean Covenanters.¹¹

It is a pleasure to dedicate this article to Fleming James. He was one of my teachers of Hebrew in Yale University, and later we were colleagues when he served as a visiting lecturer at Vanderbilt School of Religion while he was Dean of the School of Theology, University of the South. He and I have labored together as members of the Standard Bible Committee. It is a privilege to count him as a friend, and to salute him as one who embodies, as few other men I know, the fine ideal of religion expressed in Micah 6:8.

¹⁰See Burrows, *Ibid.*, pp. 184-192; Isaac Rabinowitz, *JBL*, LXXI (1952), 31.

¹¹It is a mistake to consider the Judaean and Damascus Covenanters as a "sect" in the technical sense. This implies an orthodoxy which did not exist in Judaism at this time. The Covenanters kept the Torah, as they interpreted it.

PROMETHEUS AND JOB: THE PROBLEM OF THE GOD OF POWER AND THE MAN OF WORTH

By HERBERT GORDON MAY

Oberlin Graduate School of Theology

Professor Fleming James in his *Personalities of the Old Testament* (Scribners, 1939) illustrates a model combination of careful scholarship and appreciative insight into the significant religious values of the Old Testament. The book has been an important means of introducing to theological students the kind of positive contributions which may result from a critical study of the Old Testament. This article on Job is written in appreciation of this fact and in gratitude for the combination of scholarship and personality qualities represented in Professor James himself.

Among the problems which lie in the background of both the Old Testament story of Job and the myth of Prometheus as presented by Aeschylus¹ is the reconciliation of the power of God with the dignity and worth of man. Zeus had to learn that omnipotence must be controlled by wisdom and through wisdom become consonant with justice. Before he learned this he punished Prometheus, who had dared to bring fire and other inventions to man. Zeus reconciled to Prometheus Unbound is a vindication of Prometheus' regard for man. Man is worthy to have among the gods such a protagonist as Prometheus and to possess a destiny consistent with the arts given to him by Prometheus, even though he is mortal and imperfect. How the problem of the nature of man enters into the story of Job, particularly in the prologue, we shall see.

Yahweh, like Zeus, was a God of power. The description of Yahweh thundering in the heavens and letting go his arrows, his lightnings, in Ps. 18:12-15 might well be applied to Zeus. But of Aeschylus' younger Zeus the subsequent words of the psalmist could not have been spoken:

"The Lord rewarded me according to my righteousness;
according to the cleanness of my hands he recompensed me....

¹See W. A. Irwin, "Job and Prometheus," *Journal of Religion*, XXX (1950), pp. 90-108.

With the loyal thou dost show thyself pure;
and with the crooked thou dost show thyself perverse. (18:20,
26)

This God of power punished the wicked in accord with their sin, and rewarded the good as their goodness deserved.

By contrast, the younger Zeus had used power like the Greek tyrant. My colleague, Professor Robert Murray of the Classics Department, rightly points out² that we may regard the Prometheus myth as presented by Aeschylus in part as allegorical, reflecting the social and political situation of the fifth century B.C., in particular the democratic city state which had thrown off the power of the tyrants. Zeus is patterned after the analogy of the tyrant. Hephaestus' role suggests the plight of the well-intentioned craftsman in the hands of a tyrant. Io is a type of suffering humanity. Hermes is the minor functionary who has lost his moral sense and tries to please the tyrant. Prometheus is the rebel against authority, standing for liberty as over against tyranny. Murray also recognizes the theological, or perhaps more properly, the cosmological issues Aeschylus had in mind. Prometheus is also an aspect of deity, as is Zeus. But, in contrast with the Prometheus myth, the book of Job so little reflects sociological or political conditions that scholars are quite at a variance in their views of the date of the book. Its purpose is theological, and Yahweh represents no human ruler. Curiously enough, the word "king" (Heb. *melek*) is used but once of Yahweh, i.e., in the Yahweh speeches in 41:34 (Heb. 26), and no derivative of the root is otherwise applied to him. There is this in common, however, that the Job of the dialogue pictures God as a despot for whom human standards of fairness and justice have no meaning.³ Yahweh is all-powerful, and at the same time wise, without the implication that his wisdom includes justice. Despite the fact that Job here knows that God possesses wisdom, he knows also that there is injustice, and ascribes the injustice to him (cf. 9:4, 22; 12:13, 16).

The Book of Job may legitimately be viewed from many angles, but we may gain some special insight if we look at it from the aspect of the vindication of Job rather than the aspect of the vindication of God or the problem of theodicy. The orthodox theory of

²Personal communication.

³See R. H. Pfeiffer, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, (1941), p. 701.

rewards⁴ is expressed in the psalm passage quoted above. It involves a just God and a moral order in which the good are rewarded and the wicked punished. It is the view of the proverb-maker (see Prov. 11:8, 30; 14:11),⁵ and of some of the psalmists. The aged author of Ps. 36 declares:

"I have been young, and now am old;
yet I have not seen the righteous forsaken
or his children begging bread." (vs. 25)

Similar is the attitude of the friends of Job (see Job 4:7, 8). It is elaborately maintained in Ezek. ch. 18.⁶ And even if God visits the sins of the fathers upon their children, in contrast with Ezek. ch. 18, this is still within the pattern of God's justice. Likewise though the righteous may suffer without cause on occasion, it is never for long, and the wicked get their deserts and the righteous are saved from their undeserved suffering.⁷ This is particularly evident in certain of the so-called "guiltless" psalms of personal lamentation. In them the psalmists may profess an innocence as great as was that of Job. They differ from Job, however, in that their troubles come from their persecutors, not from God, and their vindication is the coming of disaster or premature death upon their persecutors.⁸ Job could not pray for this kind of vindication, for God himself had brought his suffering, and Job could hardly have prayed for God to bring vengeance upon God! In Ps. 44 God is responsible for the suffering of the righteous Israel, (see vss. 9-26; cf. Ps. 43), and vindication is sought by restoration, for the nation still depends on the justice of God.⁹ The Job of the dialogue is in a more difficult quandry in view of his conviction of God's injustice. This is in contrast with the prologue, where Job does not "charge God with wrong" (see 1:22 and contrast 40:8).

⁴See J. Coert Rylaarsdam, *Revelation in Jewish Wisdom Literature* (1946), pp. 47-98.

⁵See F. James, *op. cit.*, pp. 516, 517.

⁶See also Jer. 31:27-30.

⁷See Ps. 92:7-9; cf. Job 20:5-7.

⁸See Ps. 7 (cf. vs. 8b: "Vindicate me, O Lord, according to my righteousness). Ps. 26 begins: "Vindicate me, O Lord, for I have walked in my integrity." See also Pss. 11, 55, 56, 64, 70, 109, 140.

⁹The temporary suffering may be because God for no given reason has cast off his chosen (Ps. 44:9, 10) or forsaken the psalmist (cf. Ps. 22), and it may be a testing (cf. Ps. 66:10-12). It is not always noted that Job in the prologue does lament, tearing his clothes and shaving his head in the rites of lamentation (1:20).

The prose prologue and epilogue deal with a different aspect of the problem of vindication than does the dialogue. The issue has properly been stated thus by a number of scholars: "Is there such a thing as unselfish virtue?"¹⁰ Job here stands as the example of disinterested righteousness. In the prologue and epilogue God's justice is really presumed, and the orthodox theory of rewards is not denied. Job, the righteous man, is prosperous, and even though he suffers undeservedly for a time, he gets his reward in this life for his submission and faithfulness, for his possessions are doubled, he again has seven sons and three daughters (miraculously restored?), and the highest award for righteousness is given to him, namely a long life.¹¹

But the author does see that the orthodox view of rewards involves the question of unselfish virtue. If men are good merely because they are rewarded for their righteousness, what virtue lies in their righteousness? A selfish mankind would be good merely for the sake of the reward. The fundamental nature of man must be vindicated, for righteousness must be something more than opportunism and self-seeking. Although a God of justice will and does reward him, he must be willing to serve God for nothing. He must be the kind of man who would rejoice in God "though the fig tree do not flourish, and there be no fruit on the vine" (cf. Hab. 3:17-19). The author of the prologue and epilogue is not trying to prove that the sufferer may be a righteous man, but that the prosperous man may really be a man of unselfish virtue. It is Job the righteous and prosperous man who is tested. The author's center of interest is not the problem of suffering, but the problem of disinterested righteousness.

Satan, like some modern theologians (compare also Eliphaz, in 4:17-19), could not believe that there was such a thing as disinterested goodness, and he asked: "Does Job serve God for nothing?" Although Job is pictured unique in his day, there being "none like him on the earth," this is in part for highlighting the message of the drama. Job, being the most perfect man, was ideal for this sort of

¹⁰See K. Budde, *Das Buch Hiob* (1913), p. xxx; J. Hempel, "Das theologische Problem des Hiob," *Zeitschrift für systematische Theologie*, pp. 643, 644 ("Gibt es eine uneigennützige Frömmigkeit?"); S. Spiegel, "Noah, Daniel, and Job," *Louis Ginzberg Jubilee Volume* (1946), pp. 323-336, and others.

¹¹See 42:12-16. In 2:6 God insists that Satan spare Job's life, perhaps because the author holds premature death the punishment to be applied only for the proven guilty.

test; if Job failed the test, then presumably all others would.¹² The author does not say that all prosperous and apparently good men would stand the test, but that there are those who, like Job, can and do. And this is enough to refute the opinion that the orthodox theory of rewards implies a thoroughly selfish ethics. It throws some light on the author's conception of deity that Yahweh could not be certain about the unselfish character of Job's righteousness until he had put him to the test. If Yahweh had brought disaster on Job only to convince Satan while he himself was certain how Job would react, Yahweh's righteousness would stand impugned. When in 2:3 he charges Satan with moving him against Job, to destroy Job without cause, he is speaking in the light of the results of the test which had been made. But Satan was not convinced, and persuaded Yahweh that the results of the test were not final, and moved Yahweh to make what became the final proof that Job's righteousness was unselfish. The references to God putting people to the test, as in Ps. 25:2; 2 Chron. 32:31, suggest God does not know their true character until after the test.

In the dialogue, although we there encounter a Job with a quite different spirit, a central interest is the same as that which we have found in the prologue and epilogue, namely the vindication of Job.¹³ There is, however, an important difference. In the prologue and epilogue it is the course of events which vindicates Job; Job seeks no vindication for himself, and it is implied that the role of the suffering righteous is unquestioned obedience, and even that obedience will have its reward. In the dialogue Job seeks his own vindication; he takes up the cudgels for himself. His first reaction was one of complete depression; he wished he had never been born and longed for death and lamented his fate, giving expression to the Promethean gloom which had settled upon him. The gloom was even deeper, for Prometheus "fast riveted in bonds beneath the sky" and wronged by the gods might speak of woes present and to come, but he knew there would be an eventual release. Job begins with no such hope (ch. 3). It is the argument of his friends, opened by Eliphaz in ch. 4, which puts Job on the defensive, for it is in reaction to their views

¹²See Hempel, *op. cit.*, p. 643.

¹³M. Buttenwieser (*The Book of Job*, 1925, p. 29) maintains that the dialogue is primarily concerned, like the prologue, with the question whether disinterested piety exists; contrast Budde. It should also be pointed out with F. James, *op. cit.*, p. 521, that Job does not challenge the assumption that calamity *ought* to be the punishment for sin.

and criticisms that he seeks vindication of himself. They presume that his wickedness is evidenced by his suffering, for those who plough iniquity and sow trouble reap the same, and the upright are never cut off (4:7, 8). There is no such thing as a perfect man, and not even the angels are so (4:17, 18). On the issue of the orthodox view of rewards the three friends do not seem to represent variant viewpoints, and Job's responses are reactions to the common attitude of his friends. They are convinced of Job's wickedness, and in the last round of speeches Eliphaz accuses Job of specific sins, of iniquities without end (ch. 22).

But we are here more interested in Job, who presumably represents the author's viewpoint. Job's chief interest is not the search for some satisfactory solution to the problem of theodicy. He makes no attempt to justify God in the light of human suffering. What concerns Job is the vindication of himself. The author's intent is the vindication of the suffering righteous, offering rebuttal to those who hold views similar to those of Job's friends.

Job, in contrast with his friends, knows that there is injustice, and credits it to God. The tents of the robbers are at peace. The wicked live to old age and grow mighty in power, and their houses are safe from fear. God destroys both the blameless and the wicked, and mocks at the calamity of the innocent. If it is not God who is responsible for such injustices, who is it? (see 9:22-24; 12:6; 21:7, 9, 10; ch. 24) God favors the designs of the wicked (10:3). He has crushed Job without cause (9:17), and has slashed open his kidneys and poured out his gall on the ground (16:12, 13). It is in the light of this that Yahweh in 40:8 accuses Job of trying to vindicate himself by putting God in the wrong and condemning God. It is a fair accusation, dramatically proven by Job's words in 13:15:

"Behold, he will slay me; I have no hope;
yet I will defend my ways to his face."

It is his own ways that Job is defending, for he knows he is innocent (16:17; 27:2-6; chs. 29-31). But Job is frustrated in his endeavor to vindicate himself, for he is a mortal and God is God (2:3; 9:32). The very use of much forensic terminology in Job's utterances highlights Job's desire for vindication. But Yahweh is the judge and the Almighty terrifies him.

Yet in the midst of his depression, Job has moments when he is

certain that vindication will come. Unfortunately this is found largely in obscure passages. So 13:18b may be rendered "I know that I shall be vindicated" or "I know that I am innocent." See also 19:25-27, beginning "For I know that my vindicator lives."¹⁴ 16:19 suggests the vindicator is God. But to the author the identity of the vindicator is apparently secondary to the fact of vindication.¹⁵ And vindication seems to consist of a recognition of Job's righteousness, rather than justice for Job.¹⁶

The significance of the Yahweh speeches (chs. 38-41) in relation to Job's hope for vindication is obscure, and perhaps we have to think of a still different author. There is in them no recognition of Job's innocence, but rather a magnificent portrayal of the God of power and wisdom, rather than of righteousness and justice. Divine knowledge and omnipotence are set over against human ignorance and impotence. In contrast with the Promethean myth, the solution of the drama is found not in a change of mind and heart on the part of deity, but in the unquestioned submission of man to One with power and knowledge greater than his own. The epilogue, which belongs with the prologue, likewise is obscure in relation to Job's hope for vindication in the dialogue. Though the restoration of Job to prosperity is a vindication of Job, it does not seem to be the kind of vindication for which the Job of the dialogue had hoped. This would be true particularly for those scholars who interpret 19:25-27 as a reference to vindication after death.

This study has dealt with but one aspect of this great book. The book seems to have had a complicated literary history, and it bears a many-sided message. This is as it should be and consonant with the problems with which it deals. It is in any case not to be restrained within the bounds of the cold reasoning of the philosopher or logician, for it belongs among the arts. And art of this kind may often more adequately disclose life's deeper meanings.

¹⁴R. Marcus ("Job and God," *Review of Religion*, XIV (1949) p. 7) translates 19:25a "As for me, would that I might know my vindicator in my lifetime." In 19:26b we may read "from my flesh" or, less probably, "without my flesh."

¹⁵See W. B. Stevenson, *The Poem of Job* (1946), p. 50, and W. Baumgartner in H. H. Rowley, ed., *The Old Testament and Modern Study* (1951), p. 221.

¹⁶F. James (*op. cit.*, p. 534) says that the author of Job dismissed the view of rewards and punishments because he was disquieted by the fact that under it one could not be sure that he was "fearing God for nothing," and perhaps even God could not be sure. If we interpret the dialogue as having this view, then the author of the dialogue is facing the same problem as the author of the prologue and epilogue, although his solution is different.

A STUDY OF DEUTERONOMY 12-18

By CUTHBERT A. SIMPSON

General Theological Seminary

During the year 1950-51 an advanced seminar on Deuteronomy was held at the General Theological Seminary. Full account was taken of the work of Hempel, Puukko, Steuernagel, Hölscher, and, as regards chapters 12-18, Friedrich Horst. The conclusions they had reached were, however, so diverse, that we found ourselves questioning the adequacy of their hypothesis of one basic code which had undergone a long process of elaboration. We accordingly decided to attempt a re-examination of the evidence to which they had appealed. This paper presents the results of our study of chapters 12-18, briefly and without further reference to their detailed observations.

That these chapters contain the work of more than one hand is indicated by (a) the duplication of certain laws, (b) the absence of the logical order which would be expected in a code, and (c) the internal inconsistencies in some sections, suggesting redactional harmonization of one kind or another. The occurrences of (a) and (b) will be noted as we proceed. The instances of (c) are:

15:7-11. Vss. 9-10 break the connection between 8 and 11; this suggests possible adaptation of the law to 15:1-6.

17:2-7. The implication of 2a is that there is no doubt as to the guilt of the accused; yet in 4 an investigation is ordered. Moreover the requirement of sufficient evidence in 6 (which anticipates 19:15) would logically come before 5. This suggests that vss. 4, 6-7 may be redactional adaptation of the law to 16:18.

13:13-19. Vs. 15 has no counterpart in 2-6 or in 7-12; and the word *abomination* connects it with 12:31 and 18:9-12. Further, two punishments are prescribed—the sword, 16a, and the bann, 17-18 (16b being redactional harmonization). This suggests that two laws have been conflated.

16:1-8. In vs. 2 the accusative particle and the article are lacking before *passover*, in contrast to 5f, which 2 anticipates. The prohibition in 4b would come more naturally after 7a. The plural in 3a and

3b in Sam and LXX respectively points to elaboration. These phenomena suggest that two laws have been conflated: passover, vss. 1, 5-7a, 4b, 7b; and unleavened bread—preserved fragmentarily—vss. 3ab, 4a, 8.

17:8-13. This sets up a superior court to deal with difficult cases. In 8b, therefore, *thou* refers to the litigants. In 8a, however, *thee* refers to Israel. It is, further, uncertain whether priest or judge is the final authority. And 11a duplicates 10. These facts suggest a conflation of two laws: one giving the priests authority to add to the code (in other words, to amend the constitution): vss. 8 (without *between blood . . . controversy*), 9 (without *and unto . . . days*; and reading *they shall inquire*, with Sam, LXX), 10b, 11b, 12 (without *or unto the judge*); the other, fragmentarily preserved, defining the duties of the judges of 16:18: in 8, the words *between blood . . . controversy*, in 9a, the words *unto the judge*, and in 11 *and according to the judgment which he shall tell thee thou shalt do* (the present *they* being redactional harmonization).

18:1-8. In 1b *his (Jahveh's) inheritance*, referring to other sacred dues, is awkward before 2, and is scarcely presupposed by 3. The singular in 2 and 4 indicates another hand than 1 and 3, and 4 is difficult after 3. The initial *they* of 8 suggests a glossator. All this points to a conflation of two laws: vss. 1a, 3, 5-7; and, fragmentary, vss. 2, 4.

Our consideration of these phenomena suggested to us the possibility that the present collection of laws is the result of a weaving together of two codes—regarded as being of equal authority—which covered the same ground, but which differed in the order in which the laws were arranged. The fact that the law prescribing centralization of worship stood at the beginning of the present collection indicated that it occupied this position in at least one of the codes. We accordingly took 12:2-12 as the beginning of one code. Since this is couched in the plural we concluded that it was the continuation of the first speech in the introductory chapters. This code may be designated A. 12:13-14, 17-19, 26-27 duplicate 12:5-12. This version, addressing Israel in the singular, would seem to belong with the third introductory speech (cf. chs. 6-7). This code is designated C.

Of the two passages permitting profane slaughter and prohibiting the eating of blood, we took vss. 15-16, embedded in C material, as belonging to C, and vss. 20-25 as A. The fact that at this point A

had changed from the plural to the singular address was noted as suggesting that the compiler of that code thought of the directions for centralization of worship as belonging rather to the introduction than to the code proper—a fact which might be of importance in an historical, as distinct from a literary, study. We further noted that in C vss. 26-27 must have preceded 13-19, their present position being due to the exigencies of conflation.

In A the law of centralization is introduced by an injunction to destroy all Canaanite places of worship (12:2-4). 12:29-31 is something of a parallel to this. Allied with it is the abomination material in 13:15, 17-19 and in 18:9-13. We concluded that this material had originally occupied in C the same position in respect to the law of centralization as that occupied by its briefer counterpart in A. That is, C, having referred in its introduction to the nations to be dispossessed (cf 7:17-24), had continued with the prohibition of Canaanite abominations in 18:9-13, and had then ordered the bann against any city which should ignore this. 13:15, 17-19 is all that remains of this. 12:29-31 we took to be redactional compensation for the displacement of the C material now found in 18:9-13.

We reasoned that in either A or C the law of centralization must have been followed immediately by the regulations now contained in 14:22-27, 15:19-23, and a list of feasts. Space does not permit the inclusion here of the grounds on which we decided this was the order in C. The present position of 13:2-12 thus suggested that this material was from A and followed upon the centralization law. This suggestion was supported by the fact that, since 13:15, 17-19 was from C, 13:13-14, 16, with which it is now conflated, must be from A; and this obviously belongs with vss. 2-12. That is, the redactor thus far had made the order of A basic to his compilation, conflating with the relevant A material such C material as was patient of this treatment.

14:1, couched in the plural, seemed to us to come from neither of the two main sources. 14:2, 3, 21 has affinities with the prohibitions of 18: 9-13, C. Because of this fact, and because it follows upon the C material, 13:15, 17-19, we reasoned that it was the original continuation of this; that is, it immediately preceded the law of centralization in C. 14:4-20, related to Lev. 11:3-23, seemed to be an insertion from an independent source.

The law of the tithe (14:22-27) had, as has been noted, followed

upon 12:26-27, 13-19 in C. Next to it the compiler placed 14:28-29 from A. It is possible, indeed probable, that this originally began at *the end of every year*, the present reading, *at the end of every three years*, inconsistent with *in the same year*, being the compiler's attempt to reconcile the two laws. We noted that in this A law the tithe was simply a measure for the relief of the distressed. It thus had affinities with 15:7-8, 11 and 15:12-18, suggesting that these too are from A. The law of Jahveh's release, breaking the connection between 14:28f and 15:7ff, thus seemed to be from C. Since, however, it also breaks the connection between the C laws preceding and following it—14:22-27 and 15:19-23—its present position must be due to the compiler, who placed it here possibly because of the attraction exercised upon the *seven years* of vs. 1 by the *three years* (whether or not redactional) of 14:28, and by the *seventh year* of 15:12. What the original position of 15:1-6 was in C it is difficult to determine.

Limitations of space again forbid the inclusion here of the grounds upon which we decided that the passover law (16:1, 5-7a, 4b, 7b) was derived from C, and the laws concerning unleavened bread (16:3ab, 4a, 8), weeks (16:9-12), and tabernacles (16:13-15) from A. 16:16-17 we also took to be C, the names of the feasts in 16 being redactional harmonization.

As regards 16:18-17:13, we reasoned first that since the apostasy material in ch 13 is from A it might be assumed that 17:2-7 was from C. The fact, noted above, that this had been redactionally adapted to 16:18 by the addition of vss. 4, 6-7a suggested that 16:18 was from A. From this it followed that the judges material in 17:8-13 was also from A; the priests material with which it is now conflated was therefore from C. This left 16:19-17:1 still unaccounted for. 16:19-20 we took to be an addition to A from an independent source, intruded between 16:18 and the judges material in 17:8-13. If 16:21-17:1 were from C, there would be no accounting for its present position in relation to the C material of its immediate context—between the festivals law of 16:16-17 and the laws of the priests (see below). This suggested that it was related to A, a suggestion which received confirmation from the fact that the substance of 17:1 is covered in C by 15:21. We could only assume that 16:21-17:1 had been added to A, possibly at the same time and from the same source as 16:19-20.

We reasoned that the law of the king (17:14-20) was not likely to be from A, for it broke the connection between the judges material

in 17:8-13 and the further material on the administration of justice in 19:15-21, also derived from A (see below). Nor did it seem to be from C, for the order of the C material following 16:16-17 appeared to us most likely to have been the C strand of 18:1-8, the priests material in 17:8-13—the present position of which is determined by the A judges material with which it is now conflated—and 17:2-7, transposed by the compiler to provide, so to speak, a case in point before 17:8-13. In this there seemed to be no place for such a law as that in 17:14-20. Now it is significant that neither in the laws preceding nor in those following is there any reference to royal authority. Furthermore, it is difficult to conceive of any situation leading to either the compilation or the combination of the codes in which this law could have had any real relevance. All these considerations suggested that it might be an historicizing addition to the collection, made after A and C had been woven together, and placed here following the laws setting up the judges and the court of appeal.

Of the two strands in 18:1-8, vss. 1a, 3, 5-7 and vss. 2, 4, we took the former to be from C, on the ground, among others, that vs. 4 was unlikely to have come from the same code as 14:23. The present position of vss. 2, 4 is, of course, due to their conflation with the C material. At what point they came in A we were unable to determine.

Finally, we concluded that 18:15-22, according to which neither the judge, nor the priest, but the prophet is the final authority, was related to the second introductory speech of Moses, ch. 5.

It has been impossible in this paper to state in detail the grounds upon which each decision was made in the working out of our hypothesis through chs. 12-18. These we have had to reserve for a more extensive presentation, together with the analysis of 19:1-26:15, which reveals precisely the same pattern. What bearing these literary findings may have upon the historical criticism of Deuteronomy must be the subject of another study.